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THE
CLASSICAL ELEMENT
IN THE
NEW TESTAMENT.



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NEW TESTAMENT

CONSIDERED AS A PROOF OF ITS GENUINENESS: WITH
AN APPENDIX ON THE OLDEST AUTHORITIES USED
IN THE FORMATION OF THE CANON.

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THE CLASSICAL ELEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

IT is characteristic of all spurious historical documents that they do not contain satisfactory internal evidence with regard to the time at which they claim to have been composed. And this evidence may be regarded as falling into three divisions; first, with regard to the time at which any literary work claiming to be genuine is supposed to have been written, whether there is anything in it inconsistent with the time; next, with regard to the circumstances under which, and the person by whom, the work claims to have been written, whether these harmonize sufficiently with the period claimed for the work; thirdly, the position of the writer, the language and general aspect of the composition. Further and external to this comes what may be called the contemporary evidence, whether the work is quoted at a period sufficiently near to the supposed date to give reason for supposing that it was written within the limits of the century claimed for its authorship.

If all these tests are satisfied, if the contents of the book agree with the time and circumstances claimed for its authorship, and if quotations occur at periods sufficiently near to show that it was actually known at a period not far removed from the date claimed for it, there seems no reason for doubting the genuineness of the book as a literary document. For experience has shown that the writer of a spurious document invariably falls into a number of mistakes; that his work never entirely agrees with the time or circumstances claimed for the composition; it either contains allusions that would not have been

used at the time, or omits things that would have been expected to be mentioned, or else the language and style are inconsistent with the period claimed.

The question of the genuineness of the work as a literary composition is of course distinct from its historical accuracy ; but the proving the one is a step to proving the other ; if the work is not genuine in a literary sense, there can be no reason for accepting it as historical, while, if accepted as genuine in a literary sense, its claims to be considered historical come next, and may thus be considered ; the book must either have been definitely composed as a fictitious work, like the *Æneid* of Virgil, which, though genuine as a literary work, is not historical, or it must be professedly historical, in which case we have to consider whether the writer was contemporary to the events that he describes, or writing of a distant past ; and if the former is the case, whether his opportunities of ascertaining the facts and his honesty of purpose are sufficient to justify us in accepting the work as historical.

It is proposed to deal only with a fragment of this method of investigation by applying a portion of it to the examination of the Canonical Books of the New Testament, to enquire whether the allusions contained in the books of which it is composed justify us in giving it the date generally claimed for it, and accepting it as a work of the first century ; and next, whether the quotations and early references come at a period sufficiently near to that date, to supply the necessary external evidence that it existed in the form in which we possess it before the close of the first century ; and lastly, whether there is anything in the books that it contains which would justify us in putting it at a period later ; and this perhaps would be best done by comparing it with works, claiming the same date, which are known to be spurious.

We should start then with the assumption that the books of the New Testament were written in the first century A.D., during the reign of the Cæsars, and while Judæa was a Roman pro-

vince ; that the books were written either in Judæa or in other parts of the Roman empire ; and that they were completed in the form in which we know them before the commencement of the second century. This evidence, it will be seen, is partly internal and partly external ; it is internal with regard to the allusions contained in the work itself, its language, style, and general character ; and external with regard to the quotations and references in other writers. The two taken together, if found satisfactory, seem to supply a sufficient test of the genuineness of any professedly historical composition.

The language of a book composed within the limits of the Roman empire during the time of the Cæsars would certainly be either Latin or Greek, no other languages being employed at that time for literary purposes ; and if it were written beyond the limits of Italy, Greek would be the language employed, as Latin apparently was not written in the provinces. The New Testament being entirely written in Greek, it thus satisfies the first test ; the language and the particular style, which is called the Hellenistic, being what would have been expected in a book written in Palestine during the first century.

It must be admitted, however, that a number of spurious works exist in Greek, and that the Hellenistic style was used with little variation for more than a thousand years after the Christian era, so that the language of the New Testament does not fix its date with exact certainty, though there is nothing in it that does not harmonize with the view, if proved by other means, that it was written in the first century. It remains to be seen whether a more distinct test cannot be employed to ascertain the date at which the books were composed than that derived from the language and style ; and it is suggested that such a test might be found in what may be called the classical element in the New Testament, all that connects it with the secular system of the day, because a work composed during the reign of the Cæsars would have a certain distinctive mark upon it, the Roman institutions being of a kind that left a definite

mark on society, and also being well ascertained, any inaccuracies of allusion would easily be detected. These if amounting to a considerable number would show that the book was not composed during the first century; on the other hand, the allusions being numerous and found to be correct, they would supply almost positive proof that the book was a genuine work of that date; for experience has shown that it is extremely difficult to give what is called a contemporary tone, to write in one century in the style that would have been used in another, and that the writer of a book which is not genuine constantly allows it to be seen by mistakes, either in the language or in the incidental allusions, that it does not belong to the period claimed for it.

If we divide the classical element into

1. The classical proper names;
2. The official titles and legal expressions;
3. The quotations from classical writers;
4. The inscriptions;

we shall have all that can be supposed to have been derived from classical sources in a work of this kind.

To begin then with the proper names. These in a work professing to have been composed in part, at any rate, within the limits of Palestine would to a considerable extent be expected to be of Hebrew or Syriac origin, and a considerable number of such are found. But as Judæa was also a Roman province at the time, we should expect to find allusions to Roman customs, and also a number of names of classical derivation, and as some of the books were written professedly in Greece or Italy, or take the form of epistles addressed to places beyond the limits of Palestine, a considerable number of classical proper names would be expected to occur; and it does not seem difficult to ascertain whether they are of a kind such as would be likely to have been used in the first century, or whether they were inserted at a later period, to convey the impression that the books were composed during the reign of the Cæsars.

CLASSICAL PROPER NAMES CONTAINED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ACHAICUS.

"I am glad of the coming of Stephanus and Fortunatus and Achaicus."
1 *Cor.* xvi. 17.

These were natives of Corinth, who had been sent to Ephesus on a mission to St Paul. Fortunatus is mentioned in the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians: "See that ye send back to us quickly in peace and with joy Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together also with Fortunatus, who were sent unto you from us¹."

Achaicus is a Latin name, and was first given to L. Mummius, who in 146 B.C. captured Corinth and reduced Greece to a Roman province: the name appears to have been continued in the family of Mummius, as we find from Suetonius² that Mummia Achaica, a descendant of L. Mummius, was the wife of Servius Galba, and the mother of the Emperor Galba and his brother Caius.

That Achaicus was used by itself as a proper name is clear from Diogenes Laertius³, who mentions it as the name of an ethical writer of uncertain date.

Its use as the name of a citizen of Corinth is peculiarly significant, as it would show that the person using it was an adherent of the Roman cause in Greece, and he may not improbably have been a dependant of the Mummian family, which still existed.

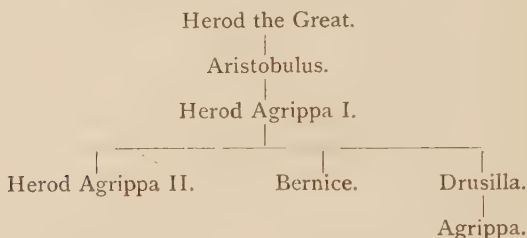
¹ Clement to the Corinthians, i. 65.

² Suetonius, *Galba* iii.

³ Diogenes Laertius, vi. 90.

AGRIPPA.

"After certain days king Agrippa and Bernice came unto Cæsarea to salute Festus." *Acts* xxv. 13.



Agrippa was a well-known Latin name of great antiquity: it first occurs as the name of one of the mythical kings of Alba, "Agrippa deinde Tiberini filius¹." It became extremely celebrated during the reign of the Cæsars on account of the important services of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, one of the chief supporters of Augustus.

Agrippa, though of humble birth, was one of the leading personages of the reign, was three times consul, and, besides his military services, was celebrated for the munificence which he displayed in the decoration of Rome, the best known of his buildings, the Pantheon, still remaining, with his name inscribed on the Portico².

The way in which the name became connected with the family of Herod appears to be as follows. In 17 B.C. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, according to Josephus³, accepted an invitation from Herod the Great to visit Jerusalem. Herod was then at the height of his power, and his son Aristobulus, whom he afterwards put to death, was then alive. There is nothing improbable in the circumstance that his grandson, the son of Aristobulus, should have received the name of Agrippa in compliment to the Roman general. Herod Agrippa, who was educated at Rome,

¹ Livy i. 3.

² M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIUM. FECIT. Also on medals—M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. III. No inscription or medals of Herod Agrippa, or of any of the Herod family, are found, with the exception of coins of Herod the Great.

³ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xvii. 2.

received in A.D. 37, from Caligula, the tetrarchies of Ituræa, Trachonitis, and Abilene. He died A.D. 44, leaving a son, Herod Agrippa II.¹, who was at this date residing at the court of Claudius for his education, and is the Agrippa mentioned in the Acts.

In A.D. 48, on the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius presented that principality to Herod Agrippa II.², and allowed him to return to Syria with the title of king; he is thus quite correctly styled King Agrippa in the Acts of the Apostles³.

The Agrippa and Bernice mentioned in Acts xxv. 13 were evidently Herod Agrippa II. and his sister, the son and daughter of Herod Agrippa I. There was also a second daughter, Drusilla, also mentioned in the Acts, who was married to Felix the predecessor of Festus. Felix in A.D. 60 was succeeded by Festus in the office of Procurator of Syria, and consequently governor of Judæa, Longinus being at the time the President of Syria.

The actual seat of the Roman government in Judæa seems to have been Cæsarea Philippi, and not Jerusalem, which was only occasionally visited either by the Procurator or the President of Syria, the seat of whose government was Antioch. Festus is consequently quite correctly represented as entering on the duties of his government at Cæsarea, and not at Jerusalem, and having St Paul brought before him at the former place. The date is also obtained for the appearance of St Paul before Festus⁴, who had just been appointed to the office of Procurator, and his appeal to the emperor, which is evidently

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. 9; xx. 1, 2.

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xx. 1, 2.

³ Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xx. 8, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας, with the expression Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς of Acts xxv. 13; there can be no doubt that they refer to the same person. Bernice was first married to her uncle Herod, the king of Chalcis, and on his death went to reside with her brother Agrippa. A story arising among the Jews that the relations of the two were not of a proper kind, she persuaded Polemon, king of Pontus, to adopt the Jewish faith and marry her, but soon divorced him and returned to reside with her brother. The two appear, from Josephus, to have been greatly attached to each other: he seems to regard the charge of immorality in their relations as merely a scandal of the populace. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* xx. 8.

⁴ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xx. 8.

60 A.D.¹, the eighth year of Nero, who is consequently the emperor to whom the appeal was made.

Agrippa himself is mentioned in a passage in Juvenal, which is interesting on account of its also containing the name of his sister Bernice.

“Deinde adamas notissimus et Beronices
In digito factus pretiosior: hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori².”

His life is described at some length by Josephus³, to whom he was well known, and who has preserved two letters that he had received from him on the subject of his History of the Jewish Rebellion, which had been submitted to Agrippa for inspection.

Bernice, his sister, was extremely well known in the classical period on account of her immense wealth, and the prominent part that she took in supporting the cause of Vespasian. On the first breaking out of the Jewish rebellion⁴, she with her brother Agrippa endeavoured to dissuade the Jews from revolting against the Roman power; and on the failure of their efforts both openly joined Vespasian, Agrippa serving for a time in the Roman army⁵, and being wounded at the siege of Gamala⁶.

After the capture of Jerusalem, Bernice played an important part in the events which led to the accession of Vespasian⁷, and at one time seemed likely to rise to the position of empress, the passion of Titus for her having led him to propose to make her his wife⁸. He was, however, dissuaded from this plan, most likely on account of her previous career, and in the end Berenice

¹ Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 22.

² Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 156.

³ Josephus, *Vit.* c. 65.

⁴ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 116, 3—4; ii. 19, 3. A curious account is given by Josephus of a speech made by Agrippa in the presence of Bernice to the Jews at Jerusalem, dissuading them from rebellion.

⁵ Josephus, *Vit.* c. 74.

⁶ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 1, 3.

⁷ Tac. *Hist.* ii. 81, Nec minore animo regina Berenice partes juvabat, florens ætate formaque, et seni quoque Vespasiano munificentia munerum grata.

⁸ Tac. *Hist.* ii. 2, Fuere qui desiderio Berenices reginæ vertisse iter crederent. Neque abhorrebat a Berenice juvenilis animus. Suetonius, *Titus* vii., Propterque insignem reginæ Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur.

was banished from Rome¹. Her brother Agrippa, who had accompanied her from Syria, remained at Rome, and died there at the age of seventy, in the reign of Trajan², when the Herod family became extinct: the exact fate of Bernice is not known.

Drusilla, the remaining member of the family mentioned in the Acts, was the sister of Agrippa and Bernice, and married first to Azizus, the king of Emesa, and afterwards, having divorced him, to Felix the Roman procurator, by whom she had a son named Agrippa³. Felix returned with her to Rome and there died; Drusilla and her son Agrippa⁴ both perished in the eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79, when the last lineal descendants of the line of Herod the Great disappeared, Agrippa having been the great-grandson of Aristobulus, who was the son of Herod the Great.

With regard to the name Bernice, it is always spelt in this way in the Acts of the Apostles, and in Josephus, who frequently mentions her; but Berenice is the form found in the Greek and Roman classical writers, except in Juvenal, who calls her Bero-nice. There is no reason to doubt that they all refer to the same person. The actual name Berenice is Greek⁵, being a Macedonian form of Φερηνίκη, and is first found, B.C. 330, as the name of a daughter of Lagus the Macedonian, father of Ptolemy, afterwards the first king of Egypt. The name often occurs afterwards as a royal name in Egypt and Syria, and is found on medals, e.g. BEPENIKHΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ⁶.

ALEXANDER.

The name of an unknown person, the son of Simon of Cyrene and brother of Rufus. *Mark* xv. 21.

¹ Suetonius, *Titus* vii., *Berenicem statim ab urbe dimisit invitum invitam*.

² Photius, *Cod.* 33.

³ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. 7.

⁴ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xx. 5.

⁵ It does not occur in history after the death of the sister of Agrippa, being last used by the Herod family.

⁶ On a medal of Ptolemy Soter.

The name of a relation of Annas and Caiaphas, mentioned as belonging to the family of the high priest. *Acts* iv. 6.

The name of a coppersmith at Rome. *2 Tim.* iv. 14.

The name of an heretical leader in the Christian Church (*1 Tim.* i. 20) who was possibly the same as the person mentioned in *2 Tim.* iv. 14.

Nothing is known of these persons, but the name is a classical one of great antiquity, first occurring in *Hom. Il.* iii. 14.

AMPLIAS.

Rom. xvi. 8.

The name of a Roman Christian.

No instance of this name is found in any classical or ecclesiastical writer. The MSS. however differ in the spelling of the name, Ampliatus being read in the Alexandrine, Sinaiticus, and Augiensis; Amplias being the reading of the Vatican. Hence it has been supposed that Ampliatus was the real name and Amplias a contracted form of it. Ampliatus does not however occur in any classical writer, and it is possible that the real reading is Ampius, Ἀμπίας. Titus Ampius Flavianus was governor of Pannonia in A.D. 67¹, and the name would consequently be one of the first century.

ANDRONICUS.

"Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen and fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the Apostles, and were also in Christ before me."
Romans xvi. 7.

The passage presents some slight difficulties. Andronicus and Junia were members of the Christian Church and residing at Rome, they are also described as the kinsmen and fellow-prisoners of St Paul. As to the exact meaning of the expression "kinsmen," συγγενεῖς, two opinions are found. First that it means fellow-countrymen, i.e. Jews like himself. To this the objection is that the term kinsmen is only used of six persons all mentioned in the sixteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; that it

¹ Tac. *Hist.* ii. 86.

is not applied to Aquila and Priscilla who were Jews, and that the names are classical not Hebrew or Syriac as might have been expected if *συγγενεῖς* was used in the sense of fellow-countrymen. The second sense seems consequently to be preferable, that they were persons actually related to St Paul, and the question would be, in what way? The word *συγγενής* which is used is of very wide signification and would cover any sort of relationship. We find from Acts xxiii. 16 that St Paul had a sister who was married and had a son, so that the *συγγενεῖς* would be the relatives in some way of the sister of St Paul, whom the Apostle claimed as his kinsmen. The names being all classical, while the name of St Paul was Saulos, a Hebrew name, suggests that they were not his actual blood relations, but merely related by marriage. With regard to the expression "of note among the Apostles," the term Apostle does not seem to be used in this passage of the twelve Apostles, but in the wider sense of missionary or travelling teacher, which is certainly found in the first century; cf. Acts xiv. 4, 14; 2 Cor. viii. 23; 1 Thess. ii. 6; *Teaching of the Apostles*, c. xi., "But concerning the Apostles and Prophets thus do ye, according to the doctrine of the Gospel. Let every Apostle that cometh unto you be received as the Lord." With regard to the imprisonment mentioned the time and place are uncertain, but as Andronicus and Junia had become Christians before St Paul, they may have shared in one of his minor persecutions.

APELLES.

Rom. xvi. 10.

The name of a Roman Christian.

It first occurs as the name of the celebrated painter, B.C. 352—306¹; it only occurs once afterwards, as the name of a disciple of Marcion the heretic, attacked by Tertullian²; as the date is about 188 A.D. it could not be the same person, but the occurrence of the name in Tertullian shows that it is an accepted classical name.

¹ Suid. art. *Apelles*.

² Tertull. *de Præscript. Hæret.* 30.

APOLLOS.

Acts xviii. 24.

The name of an Alexandrian Jew, described as a learned man (*ἀνὴρ λόγιος*), who visited Ephesus apparently to preach the baptism of John, and was there converted to Christianity by Aquila and Priscilla, and afterwards became famous in the history of the Corinthian Church, where a party arose who regarded him as a rival of St Paul. His visit to Corinth, where he first met the Apostle, is mentioned in Acts xix. 1; and the name occurs in the following passages of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 4, 5, 6, 22, iv. 6: also in Clement to the Corinthians, i. 47.

The name Apollos does not elsewhere occur, and there is considerable difference of reading in the passage in Acts where it is first mentioned. Apollonius is the reading of the Codex Bezae; Apelles, of the Sinaiticus; Apollo, of the Codex Laudianus and the Latin Vulgate. The same difference of reading does not however occur in the Epistle to the Corinthians, where with one exception—in 1 Cor. iv. 6, where the form Ἀπολλῶ is found in several MSS. for Ἀπολλῶν—Apollos is always read. The Alexandrine and Vatican MSS. always give Apollos as the reading without any variation.

This difference of reading, coupled with the fact that the name does not elsewhere occur, has given rise to some speculation as to the proper way of spelling it, and it seems most probable from the passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, compared with the passage in St Clement, that, though the name was written at the time Apollos¹, the real name was Apollonius², which, by a practice common in antiquity, was shortened in pronunciation to Apollos. Apollonius was an extremely common classical name, used by a large number

¹ The following is apparently the correct way of inflecting it:—*Nom.* Ἀπολλῶς, *Gen.* Ἀπολλῶ, *Acc.* Ἀπολλῶν. No other cases occur.

² The name Apollonius first occurs in connection with Egypt. Apollonius, the son of Charinus, had been appointed by Alexander the Great governor of Libya in 331 B.C.

of literary characters, and also occurring in the political history of antiquity.

The most celebrated person of the name, Apollonius Rhodius, was a native of Alexandria, and lived in the third century B.C.; its occurrence as the name of a native of the same town in the first century A.D. is not surprising; and the shortening of the name to Apollos may be accounted for by the fact that the person being a Jew, and a member of the working classes, the name was shortened from Apollonius to Apollos for convenience in use.

APPIA.

Philemon 2.

The Epistle is thus addressed :—

“To Philemon our beloved and fellow-labourer, and to the beloved Appia, and to Archippus our fellow-soldier.”

Appia¹ is the Roman Appia, a name of the Claudian family; it does not however occur as a feminine name in the Claudian family², Claudia being always used. Since the time of Chrysostom it has generally been supposed that the person addressed was the wife of Philemon.

AQUILA. *Acts* xviii. 2, 18, 26; *Romans* xvi. 3; *1 Cor.* xvi. 19;
2 *Tim.* iv. 19.

The name of a Jew, a native of Pontus, and a tent-maker by profession, who was found by St Paul on arriving at Ephesus, residing there with his wife Priscilla. They had recently come from Italy on account of the decree of Claudius³, by which

¹ There is a slight difference of reading in the MSS. 'Απφλα is the reading of textus receptus. 'Αφφλα is found in the Claromontanes. 'Αμφλα in the Augiensis. The nominative apparently is 'Απφλα. In *Acts* xxviii. 15 the term 'Αππίου φόρου Appii Forum occurs the spelling being slightly different to that used in the Epistle to Philemon.

² It is only found as an adjective in the classical writers: cf. *Via Appia*.

³ For the decree of Claudius banishing the Jews from Rome, cf. Sueton. *Claudius* 25, Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit. The expression

the Jews were banished from Rome. The date and circumstances of his conversion are not known, but the name frequently occurs in connection with the missionary journeys of St Paul,^e being last mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 19, where a salutation is sent to him from Rome by the Apostle during his imprisonment.

The name 'Ακύλας is evidently the Latin Aquila, a not uncommon Roman name. L. Pontius Aquila¹ was tribune of the plebs in A.D. 45, and afterwards a prominent member of the republican party: the name afterwards occurs several times, and the actual form Aquila Ponticus², or Aquila of Pontus, occurs in the second century as the name of a Jew, who in the reign of Hadrian translated the Old Testament into Greek to avoid the use of the Septuagint, to which the Jews were beginning to object, on account of its being supposed to favour the Christian interpretation.

It could hardly have been the same person as the Aquila mentioned in the Acts, but the similarity of the name suggests that it may have been a descendant.

ARCHELAUS.

“But when he heard that Archelaus reigned in Judæa in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid.” *Matt.* ii. 22.

Josephus (i. 33, 8) describes the illness and death of Herod

Chrestus is worthy of notice, as it is apparently the earliest mention (i.e. about 50 A.D.) of Jesus Christ, which by a mistake afterwards discovered was first written Χρηστός, or Chrestus, in Italy. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. p. 54; ii. p. 55. Tertull. *adv. Gentes*, 3. Lactant. *de Vera Sap.* iv. 7.

¹ Sueton. *Jul. Cæs.* 78. Cic. *Phil.* xi. 6. *Ad Fam.* x. 33. The Greek form Πόντιος 'Ακύλας is found in Dion Cassius xlv. 38.

It has been conjectured that the expression in Acts Ποντικός τῷ γένει referred to the Gens Pontia, and implied that Aquila was a dependant of that family. This is however a mistake, as the Greek expression in that case would be Πόντιος, not Ποντικός. Aquila seems to have been a not uncommon name among the Jews settled in Pontus.

² For the second Aquila and his version of the Old Testament, cf. Iren. *adv. Hæres.* iii. 21; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8; Niceph. iv. 14. Irenæus calls him 'Ακύλας Ποντικός. The expression used in Acts xviii. 2 is 'Ιουδαῖον ὀνόματι 'Ακύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει.

the Great, and states that a will was found after his death by which his kingdom was divided among his three sons. Ptolemæus, who had been entrusted with the king's signet ring, "opened and read the will, in which Philip was declared the heir of Trachonitis and the adjoining places, Antipas was named tetrarch, Archelaus king." The accuracy of the expression "reigned" (*βασιλεύει*) used by St Matthew is thus evidently shown.

The three sons of Herod apparently succeeded him in the following way: Philip became tetrarch of Trachonitis, Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee, Archelaus king of Judæa, having the seat of his government at Jerusalem. A detailed account of the reign of Archelaus is given by Josephus¹, who describes it as marked by great disorder. In the tenth year of his reign he was accused by the Jews before Augustus of tyrannous conduct, and summoned to Rome to answer the charges. Being unable to clear himself, he was deposed² by the emperor and banished to Vienne in Gaul, where he died. The kingdom of Judæa was suppressed, and the province put under the government of the procurator of Syria, Coponius being sent to Judæa to take the place of Archelaus. Judæa never afterwards became an independent kingdom, but was governed by the Procurator of Syria until the revolt of the Jews during the procuratorship of Gessius Florus.

The name Archelaus is not uncommon as a royal name in antiquity, first occurring as the name of a son of Temenus the Heraclid, and is found on coins³, e.g.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ.

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 1, 2, 8, 11; *Antiq. Jud.* xvii. 1, 11, 4.

² The banishment of Archelaus is apparently alluded to by Dion Cassius lv. 27, ὃ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος αἰτίαν τινὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὑπερῶρισθη καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη.

³ On a coin of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, about 30 B.C.

ARCHIPPUS.

Coloss. iv. 17; Philem. 2.

The name of a Greek Christian, a member of the Church at Colossæ; the person mentioned in the Epistle to Philemon is most likely the same, which fixes the place to which the Epistle was addressed as Colossæ.

The name is an Attic one, and first occurs in 415 B.C. as the name of a writer of comedy.

There are various legends about the Archippus mentioned by St Paul¹, none of which seem to have any foundation except the one that makes him the first Bishop of Colossæ, which seems not improbable².

ARETAS.

"In Damascus the governor³ under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes." 2 Cor. xi. 32.

Aretas was the name of several kings of Arabia Petræa, three of whom are known. The one mentioned by St Paul is the last of the three, and his connection with the history of Palestine is as follows:—

He⁴ had given his daughter in marriage to Herod Antipas, who divorced her in order that he might marry Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip. Aretas, being greatly offended at this, declared war against Antipas, and defeated him in a pitched battle⁵. Though the circumstance is not definitely mentioned either in the New Testament or Josephus, it is not unlikely that Damascus was occupied with a garrison by Aretas either just before or just after the battle. The event

¹ He is said to have been one of the seventy disciples, and to have undergone martyrdom at Chonæ, near Laodicea.

² The language of the Epistle to the Colossians implies that Archippus held some office in the Church. *Καὶ εἶπατε Ἀρχίππῳ, βλέπε τὴν διακονίαν ἣν παρέλαβες ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἵνα αὐτὴν πληροῖς.*

³ The title of *ἐθνάρχης*, or governor, was common at the time in the Roman province. Augustus, for instance, bestowed it on Archelaus. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xvii. 11, 14: cf. Strabo xvii. 798.

⁴ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 5, 4: cf. St Matt. xiv. 1—10; St Mark vi. 14; St Luke ix. 7.

⁵ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 52.

mentioned by St Paul falls about 37 A.D., the exact date of the campaign between Aretas and Herod Antipas, which was terminated in 37 A.D. by the intervention of Vitellius the governor of Syria¹.

The correctness of the title βασιλεὺς as applied to Aretas is shown by the inscription on coins, e.g.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

ARISTARCHUS. *Acts* xix. 29, xxvii. 2; *Coloss.* iv. 10; *Philemon* 24.

A native of Thessalonica, one of the companions of St Paul in his missionary journey from Ephesus, and the only person mentioned by name as accompanying him on his voyage to Rome, where he afterwards shared his imprisonment², being twice mentioned as sending his salutation from that city. His ultimate fate is unknown; but he is not unlikely to have undergone martyrdom at Rome in the persecution under Nero.

The name Aristarchus first occurs in Thucydides viii. 90, as the name of a political leader at Athens, and is afterwards of frequent occurrence.

ARISTOBULUS.

Rom. xvi. 10.

The name of a person at Rome, whose family was saluted by St Paul. "Salute them that are of the household of Aristobulus."

It does not seem to follow from the expression employed that Aristobulus himself was a Christian. The name is well authenticated as one of Macedonian origin, being first found as the name of one of the companions of Alexander the Great,

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 5, 3, 7. The date is fixed by the death of Tiberius, which occurred during the campaign, and caused a suspension of hostilities. In the end Herod Antipas was deposed and banished by Caligula, and Aretas allowed to remain in possession of his kingdom.

² In *Coloss.* iv. 10 and *Philemon* 24. In the passage in Colossians he is called the fellow-prisoner (συναιχμάλωτος) of the Apostle.

and the writer of a history of the Persian campaign. It is afterwards of frequent occurrence, and is interesting as one of the names used by the Jewish princes, six of whom were called¹ Aristobulus. The last of these, who was the great-grandson of Herod the Great, may not improbably have been the person mentioned by St Paul, as we find that in A.D. 55 and 61 he received a considerable territory in Armenia from the emperor Nero, with whom he was highly in favour¹. He was married to Salome the daughter of Herodias. If we take 60 A.D. as the date of the Epistle to the Romans, he is not unlikely to have been at Rome at that time, as in 61 A.D. he received an accession of territory from Nero². In that case the language of St Paul would mean, "Salute them that are of the party of Aristobulus who have become Christians."

ARTEMAS.

Titus iii. 12.

The name of a companion of St Paul, whom he proposed to send to Titus, "when I shall send unto thee Artemas, or Tychicus."

The name Artemas is not found in any classical writer. It is most likely an abbreviated form of Artemidorus³, which occurs as the name of a painter at Rome in the first century.

ASYNCRITUS.

Rom. xvi. 14.

The name of a Christian at Rome. It does not occur elsewhere as a proper name, but is found as the Greek adjective ἀσύγκριτος, "not to be compared with," and may be supposed to have been the name of a Christian of Greek descent.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 7, Et minorem Armeniam Aristobulo, regionem Sophenen Sohæmo, cum insignibus regiis mandat. About 54 A.D.

² Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 26, Pars Armeniæ, ut cuique finitima, Pharasmani Polemonique et Aristobulo atque Antiocho parere jussæ sunt. In 61 A.D.

Cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xx. 8, 4; *Bell. Jud.* vii. 7, 1.

³ Martial v. 40, Ad Artemidorum.

AUGUSTUS.

ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου. *Luke* ii. 1.

Augustus Cæsar, the first Roman Emperor: he is not elsewhere mentioned in the New Testament. The use of the Latin form Αὐγούστος, instead of the Greek Σεβαστὸς which was the ordinary official title, shows that the first Cæsar is meant, and not Claudius or Caligula.

The inscription on the coins of Augustus is always merely AUGUSTUS CÆSAR. The inverted form given by St Luke of Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου might seem to deserve notice, but from a medal of the reign of Claudius it appears to have been the ordinary Hellenic form of the name; thus we find

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ

on a medal struck in Thrace in honour of Claudius, though Claudius Cæsar is the inscription on his Latin coins.

The real name of Augustus was Caius Octavianus, but by a series of changes owing to his political position, it became Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus. This for ordinary purposes was shortened into Augustus Cæsar¹, or Augustus² alone.

It is necessary to mention that the title of Augustus was used by the successors of the first emperor³; hence the term Augustus (Σεβαστὸς) in Acts xxv. 21 refers to the emperor Nero. That the use of the title Augustus for Nero is sufficiently accurate appears from the coins of Nero himself, which bear the inscription

NERO . CÆSAR . AUGUSTUS.

For the term σπείρης Σεβαστῆς⁴, which perhaps means Legio Augusta, see note to the article Cornelius.

¹ Virg. *Æn.* vi. 792.

² Tac. *Ann.* i. 1, 3.

³ With the exception of Tiberius, who calls himself on his coins Augusti Filius, the title of Augustus was always used by the Roman emperors in addition to their own names, as an official title. After the downfall of the Western Empire it was used by the emperors of the East, and is found on the coins of Justinian. It was first used as a proper name by the Emperor Augustus.

⁴ Acts xxvii. 1.

BERNICE.

See AGRIPPA.

BLASTUS.

Acts xii. 20.^a

The name of the chamberlain of Herod Agrippa I., who acted as mediator between him and the people of Tyre and Sidon.

The name is not found elsewhere, and does not occur as a proper name in the classical writers; it is found however as a substantive in Greek *βλαστός*¹, a shoot or bud.

CÆSAR. *Matt.* xxii. 17, 21; *Luke* ii. 1, iii. 1, xx. 22, 24; *John* xix. 12, 15; *Acts* xxv. 10, xxvi. 32.

Always in the New Testament as the official title of the Roman Emperor.

This was not its original meaning, as it was merely a name used by the Gens Julia at Rome, who professed to derive their descent from Iulus the son of Æneas, and first occurs in 208 B.C. when Sextus Julius Cæsar was Prætor. The name is of uncertain derivation, but most likely comes from Cæsaries (long hair).

The period comprised in the New Testament extends over the reign of the whole of the twelve Cæsars, the Book of Revelation having been written in the reign of Domitian; of these, three are mentioned by name—Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius; there is no reference to Caligula, but Nero is evidently the Cæsar referred to in *Acts* xxv. and xxvi.

It is worthy of notice that in *Luke* ii. 1 we have the mention of a decree by Augustus commanding the taxation, and later on, in the reign of Tiberius, the taxation is actually being collected in Judæa. The references to the Cæsars may thus be arranged: in *Luke* ii. 1, Augustus is mentioned; in *Matthew* xxii. 17, and the other passages, Tiberius is the Cæsar mentioned, with the exception of *Acts* xxv. and xxvii. where Nero is alluded to.

¹ Herod. vi. 37. Soph. *Frgs.* 314.

NOTE.

On the use of the titles Augustus and Cæsar.

The male line of the Cæsars ended with Julius Cæsar the dictator, Augustus having been son of Atia who was the daughter of Julia the sister of Julius Cæsar, and the family became extinct altogether at the death of Nero, who was the last descendant of Augustus. The name, however, continued to be used as an official title during the reigns of the remainder of the twelve Cæsars as we find TI . CÆSAR on the coins of Titus, and even after the time of the Cæsars had ceased, as we find NERVA CÆSAR on the coins of Nerva and the full title IMPERATORI CÆSARI TRAJANO OPTIMO AUGUSTO GERMANICO on the base of the column of Trajan.

The title of Cæsar was used as late as 306 A.D. by the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, on whose coins we find CONSTANTIUS . CÆS., and by Maximian II. 311, on whose coins appeared, most likely for the last time, the name of Cæsar—MAXIMIANUS . CÆSAR. The title of Augustus seems afterwards to have been substituted, as we find on the coins of Maxentius 306—312: MAXENTIUS P. F. AUG., and after his defeat and death the title of Augustus was adopted by his successor Constantine on whose coins we find CONSTANTINUS P. P. AUG.; on the coins of Nepos the last Emperor but one of the Western Empire, 474, 475 A.D., and the last in whose name any coins are found, appears NEPOS P. F. AUG. Augustus thus seems to have been the official title of the Emperors from the time of Constantine until the downfall of the Western Empire. The title of Cæsar had been previously bestowed on the colleagues of the Emperor, when in A.D. 292 Diocletian nominated Constantius Chlorus and Galerius to the title of Cæsar, retaining for himself and Maximian the title of Augusti. The title Cæsar thus seems to have come to be regarded as one of secondary importance, the two Augusti being the real Emperors, and the title of Augustus came naturally to be used by the Emperor, the title of Cæsar coming to mean colleague or deputy.

The term Augustus, it should be noted, is not a proper name, but an appellative adjective, meaning sacred or venerable, and was first used by the Emperor Augustus Cæsar at the request of the senate. It is found previously as an adjective, cf. Cicero *N. D.* i. 47, *Eleusis sancta et augusta*. Liv. i. 7, *augustus habitus formaque*.

CARPUS.

2 *Tim.* iv. 13.

The name of a Christian in the Troad, with whom St Paul had left a cloak and some books. It does not occur as a proper name in the classical writers, but is evidently the Greek *καρπὸς*, fruit.

CHLOE.

1 *Cor.* i. 11.

The name of a female Christian at Corinth, who sent information to St Paul about the dissensions in the Corinthian Church.

The expression ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης most likely refers to the servants of Chloe, who had come on business from Corinth to Ephesus.

Chloe is extremely uncommon as a proper name, occurring only in Horace: and is found only in one inscription in the Columbarium of Livia, where it occurs as the name of a freed-woman of the Empress Livia, LIVIÆ CHLOE.

CLAUDIA.

2 *Tim.* iv. 21.

The name of a female Christian at Rome, who sent her salutation to St Timothy.

It was a common female name of the Claudian family. Claudia Augusta was the name of the only child of Nero, who died in her infancy; the person mentioned in the Epistle may have been a dependant, or female servant, in the imperial household.

CLAUDIUS.

Acts xviii. 2.

The Emperor Claudius, only mentioned in connection with his decree by which the Jews were banished from Rome: a passage in Suetonius mentions the event: "Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit." Suetonius, *Claudius* xxv.

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS.

Acts xxiii. 26.

The name of the commander of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem: he is called the χιλιάρχος, which was the term used by the Greek historians for a military tribune or the commander of the tenth part of a legion, about six hundred men; as he is mentioned as having centurions and soldiers under him we may

suppose that this was the number of troops stationed at Jerusalem, six hundred men and ten centurions.

Claudius Lysias is not mentioned by any classical writer, and nothing further is known about him : from his name, which is partly Greek and partly Latin, we should infer that he was a Greek of the name of Lysias, and had been made a Roman citizen by Claudius, whose name he had taken in compliment to the emperor. It is interesting to compare the statement made by him, "with a great price obtained I this freedom," with a passage in Dion Cassius¹, who states that in the reign of Claudius the Empress Messalina constantly sold the position of Roman citizen, and raised large sums by these means.

CLEMENT.

"Together also with Clement and the rest of my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life." *Phil.* iv. 3.

The whole passage is as follows :—

"I exhort Euodia, and I exhort Syntyche, to be of one mind in the Lord ; and I exhort thee also, true yoke-fellow, help those women which have laboured with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and the rest of my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life."

The passage presents some difficulties. Euodia and Syntyche are not elsewhere mentioned, nor do their names occur in any classical writer. Euodia is, however, merely the feminine form of Euodius, a not uncommon name among the early Christians. Syntyche is most likely an adjective formed from *συντυχία*, a happy event.

The two were female converts at Philippi, who had had a difference, and whom the Apostle wished to reconcile. Who was the person addressed as "true yoke-fellow" (*γνήσιε σύζυγε*) is entirely unknown. That it was the wife of St Paul

¹ Dion Cassius lx. 17.

was supposed by Clement of Alexandria, but this interpretation has long been known to be inaccurate¹. Another suggestion is that a person of the name of Syzygus is alluded to, *γνήσιε Σύζυγε* meaning "worthy Syzygus"; but no such name as Syzygus occurs in any classical writer. The natural interpretation drawn from the sense of the passage would be that the person addressed was a female, who was charged with the duty of helping the women of the Christian Church at Philippi. There is, however, a certain difficulty in taking this view, as though *σύζυγος* is an adjective of two terminations, and consequently the vocative *σύζυγε* might mean either a male or female, *γνήσιος* is an adjective of three terminations, and *γνήσια σύζυγε* would be required if a female were meant². There seems, however, to be a little doubt whether the inflection of the adjectives in the New Testament may not have differed from that used in the classical writers, and some of the adjectives that are of three terminations in the classical writers have been of two in the New Testament: in that case *γνήσιος* though of three terminations in the classical writers may have been regarded as of two terminations by the writers of Greek in Palestine. If we adopt this view, the meaning of the passage would be, "I exhort thee also, true yoke-fellow, i.e. wife, that thou wilt help those women who have laboured with me in the Gospel"; and the person addressed would be a female Christian not otherwise known, but then resident at Philippi. If, however, we take the two words as masculine, the person mentioned would be one of the *συνεργοί*, or fellow-labourers, of St Paul, most likely St Timothy.

The person mentioned as Clement is not again alluded to by St Paul, and he does not seem to have accompanied him on any of his missionary journeys. Since the time of Origen it has been generally supposed that the person here mentioned was after-

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 5, 53. Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* iii. 30, but cf. Theodoret ad 1 Cor. vii. 8.

² *Σύζυγος* though in its first signification an adjective of two terminations, *σύζυγος, σύζυγον*, is also used as a substantive: *ἡ σύζυγος* always meaning a wife, *ὁ σύζυγος* a comrade or companion. Cf. Euripid. *Alc.* 314, 342, *Iph. T.* 250.

wards Bishop of Rome, and the author of the two Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians. It is not unlikely that this was the case, but it is not absolutely certain, as a doubtful element has been imported into the matter by the existence of more than one person of the name, and by the spurious character of the late Clementine writings. It is on the whole the best course to suppose the existence of three Clements in ecclesiastical history. The first, the fellow-labourer of St Paul, mentioned by him as then resident at Philippi, but afterwards Bishop of Rome, and the author of the two Epistles to the Corinthians. Clement was a Roman, not a Greek, by birth, and it seems not improbable that he may have rejoined St Paul at Rome during his imprisonment. The second Clement is Flavius Clemens, the son of Flavius Sabinus, and cousin of the Emperor Domitian. He was consul together with Domitian in 90 A.D., and at the close of his year of office was put to death by the Emperor on a charge of Atheism, his wife Domitilla being at the same time banished to the island of Pandataria¹. Dion Cassius, who mentions the event, states that the charge of Atheism was brought by Domitian against many persons who had adopted Jewish opinions, and it appears from a passage in Eusebius that Domitilla was actually a Christian. Hence some writers have supposed that Flavius Clemens was the same person as the first Bishop of Rome, and consequently as the fellow-labourer of St Paul. But this view presents insuperable difficulties. In the first place, Clement could hardly have been consul at Rome and Christian Bishop at the same time. Nor could Flavius Clemens, the cousin of Domitian, have been actually a fellow-labourer with St Paul at Philippi. Flavius Clemens is never claimed by the early Christian writers as a martyr though they could hardly have failed to do so had they believed him to have been a Christian, and the death of Clement the Bishop is always put in the reign of Trajan, in the second century, the death of Flavius Clemens occurring in the first century.

¹ Dion Cassius lxxvii. 14; cf. Suetonius, *Domitian* xv. Euseb. *Ecl. Hist.* iii. 18.

The best solution of the difficulty seems to be to suppose that the Clement mentioned by St Paul was a freedman or dependant of Flavius Clemens, who gained some knowledge of Christianity from him, and afterwards incurred the suspicion of Domitian.

Lastly, there is a third Clement, the author of the Apostolical Constitutions and other doubtful writings, who is a fictitious person, employing the name of Clemens Romanus to gain the acceptance as works of the first century for writings really belonging to the third or fourth.

The name Clement is not uncommon in antiquity, and first occurs A.D. 16 as the name of a slave of Agrippa Postumus, who, after the death of his master, endeavoured to personate him, but was seized and put to death by Tiberius. "Agrippæ Postumi servus nomine Clemens." It afterwards generally occurs as the name of a member or dependant of the Flavian family, Flavius Clemens the consul being the first who used it; but it is also found from time to time in the later Roman history, and often occurs in inscriptions; e.g.

D. M.

C. VALERIO CLEMENTI C. JULIUS FELIX ET

FLAVIA HÆREDES¹.

¹ The first mention of Clement occurs in the Shepherd of Hermas, *Vis.* II. iv., where he is said to be charged with correspondence to the foreign cities. The name does not elsewhere occur in the Apostolic Fathers and is not found in the first and second epistles of Clement, except in the title.

He is mentioned by Irenæus *adv. Hær.* iii. 3 as having been the Bishop of Rome and a person who had himself seen the Apostles, but not definitely identified with the Clement of the epistle to the Philippians. The first epistle of Clement is quoted at some length by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 17), who does not however mention him as the fellow-labourer of S. Paul.

In Origen, *ad Joan.* vi. 36, he is first identified as the Clement of Philippi, ὁ πιστὸς Κλήμης ὑπὸ Παύλου μαρτυρούμενος.

Eusebius is the first writer who states definitely that the Clement mentioned by S. Paul was the same person as the Bishop of Rome, *H. E.* iii. 15, διαδέχεται Κλήμης, ὃν συνεργὸν ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστέλλων ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει,

CORNELIUS.

“There was a certain man at Cæsarea named Cornelius, a centurion of the band called the Italian band.” *Acts* x. 1.

The Cæsarea here mentioned was the maritime Cæsarea, called Cæsarea Augusta, a town situated on the coast of Palestine, not far from Joppa; and not Cæsarea Philippi, which was an inland town in the north of Palestine. Cæsarea Augusta was an important maritime city, the station of the Roman fleet, and the residence of the Procurator or governor of Judæa: it would thus be the natural place for the station of a Roman military force.

The name Cornelius is that of the Cornelia gens, a famous Roman family, which is said to have produced more eminent men than any other. It was extremely common as a single name in the first century on account of the conduct of Cornelius Sulla¹, who made ten thousand of his supporters Roman citizens, all of whom took the name of Cornelius in compliment to the Dictator. That it was used alone as a military name is evident from a passage in Suetonius², where it occurs as the name of a centurion, the leader of a military deputation, sent by Augustus to the Senate in B.C. 43 to demand the consulship for him.

The expression “Italian band” (σπεῖρης Ἰταλικῆς) presents some difficulty. The term σπεῖρα, strictly speaking, does not mean legion, which was called in Greek λεγεὼν or τάγμα, but was the term for the cohort or tenth part of a legion, every legion consisting of sixty centuries, thirty maniples, and ten cohorts. The cohorts, however, were not distinguished by names but by numbers, being numbered in each legion from one to ten; consequently in a regular legion there would not be a cohort called the cohors Italica, but merely the prima, secunda, &c.

λέγων· μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς. Cf. Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 113, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Κλήμης περὶ οὗ φησιν ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῇ· μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου κ.τ.λ.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* i, 100.

² Suetonius, *Augustus* 26, Cornelius centurio princeps legationis.

The name Italian was, however, the name of the first Roman legion; consequently, if we suppose the term *σπεῖρα* to be used in the New Testament not exactly in the same sense as that used by Polybius and the Greek writers, but incorrectly or in a laxer sense for legion, Cornelius would be one of the centurions of the Legio Italica, just as the centurion Julius, who is mentioned in Acts xxvii., would be a centurion of the Legio Augusta, or *σπείρης Σεβαστῆς*, the name of the second Roman legion. Here, however, we are met by a fresh difficulty. The Legio Italica, we learn from Dion¹, was not known by that name before the reign of Nero: the events mentioned in Acts x. falling in the reign of Caligula, the term Legio Italica would not have been used as the name of a Roman legion at that time; it seems doubtful also whether the Legio Italica was ever stationed in Syria², it being generally employed in the defence of the northern provinces of Italy. It thus seems better on the whole to conclude that the term *σπείρης Ἰταλικῆς* does not mean the Legio Italica, but is used in some other sense, and the question is in what sense. It seems most likely to have been used in the sense of cohort, not, however, in the definite sense of the tenth part of a legion, but in a second sense, also found in the classical writers, as equivalent to battalion or detachment. When used in this sense it admits of a qualifying adjective: thus we read in Livy of the cohorts Peligna and the cohorts Marsorum: and we may suppose that the detachment of Roman soldiers, which formed the garrison of Cæsarea, was known by the title of cohorts Italica; and this explanation is rendered more likely by the discovery of an inscription in Syria in which the expression actually occurs, "Cohors militum Italicorum voluntaria qui est in Syria."

The expression *σπείρης Σεβαστῆς*, used in Acts xxvii. 1, may possibly refer to the Legio Augusta, or second Roman legion,

¹ Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* lv. 25.

² It is first mentioned in A.D. 69 as being stationed at Lyons in Gaul, and seems to have been generally employed in the north of Italy. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 59, 64.

which was already known by that name, and a portion of which might not unnaturally have been stationed at Cæsarea, though even here it is doubtful whether a *cohors Augusta* is not meant, as there seems to have been a force called the *Augustani*¹, who were especially devoted to the defence of the Emperor for the time being. In any case it is worthy of notice that the station of the military force in both instances was at Cæsarea, which is known to have been the seat of the Roman government in Palestine, Jerusalem being only occasionally visited by the Procurator.

NOTE.

On the Roman Military Terms used in the New Testament.

The use of the term *σπεῖρα* in the New Testament for a Roman military division causes some difficulty. The Roman legion in the time of the Cæsars consisted of the following divisions: 10 *cohortes*, 30 *manipuli*, 60 *centuriæ* or *ordines*, 600 *contubernia*. The officers were called *Tribuni militum*, each of whom commanded a cohort, centurions who commanded the *centuriæ*, and *optiones* or sub-centurions, one of whom acted as a deputy to each centurion.

In Polybius and the Greek military historians we find the following equivalents given:—

legio	λεγεών.
cohors	σπεῖρα.
manipulus	σημαία, σπεῖρα and τάγμα.
centuria or ordo	ἐκατονταρχία.
contubernium	ὀμόσκηνος.

It is evident, therefore, that even in the Greek historians some confusion occurs in the way in which these terms were rendered, particularly with regard to the term *σπεῖρα*.

The names of the officers are thus rendered:—

Tribuni militum	χιλίαρχοι.
centuriones	ἐκατόνταρχοι.
optiones	οὔραγοί.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 15. Suetonius, *Nero*, 20, 25.

In the New Testament the following military terms are used :—

λεγεών. St Matt. xxvi. 53 ; St Mark v. 9, 15 ; St Luke viii. 30.
Always metaphorically, and not in the sense of a Roman legion.

σπεῖρα. St Matt. xxvii. 27 ; St Mark xv. 16 ; St John xviii. 3, 12.

1. Not apparently in these passages of a division of the Roman army, but of a force at the disposal of the authorities at Jerusalem, employed in arresting offenders.

Acts x. 1, xxi. 31, xxvii. 1.

2. Of a military division of the Roman army; in the first and third of the passages of the division which formed the garrison of Cæsarea ; in the second, of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem.

The names of the officers used are :—

χιλίαρχος.

Mark vi. 21.

Here apparently used in the general sense of military leader, as it is applied to the captains of Herod.

St John xviii. 12.

Of the officer in charge of a military force at Jerusalem employed in the arrest of criminals. It does not mean a division of the Roman army, as it is called the band and captain and military officers of the Jews.

Acts xxi., xxii., xxiii., xxiv.

3. Of the Roman officer called the *Tribunus Militum*; and in these passages the commander of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem. The name Claudius Lysias being given, and it being stated that he had centurions and soldiers under him, shows that a division of the Roman army is meant. A *Tribunus Militum* would have ten centurions and about six hundred men under his command. Why the Greek writers translate the term by *χιλίαρχος* is not exactly known, no division of the Roman army amounting to exactly one thousand men. The number in a legion never exceeded 7500 men, and the ordinary strength was about 6000. The term *χιλίαρχος*, or commander of a thousand, is however always used by Polybius as the equivalent of *Tribunus Militum*.

ἐκατόνταρχος.

St Matt., Luke, Acts,

in many passages.

Always of the military officer called a centurion, and used in exactly the same sense as that employed by Polybius. The Latinized form *κεν-
τυρίων* occurs in St Mark only.

No other military terms occur in the New Testament. The term *πραι-
τώριον* is however used for the judgment-hall at Jerusalem, and the term *ἀνθύπατος*, or proconsul, is used correctly for the governor of Cyprus : the term for consul, *ὑπάτος*, or the equivalent for prætor or pro-prætor, do not occur.

It remains to be considered in what sense the word *σπεῖρα* was employed

in the New Testament, and the answer seems to be that it was used in a two-fold sense. First, not as a definite military expression, but generally for the force at the disposal of the authorities at Jerusalem to be employed in the arrest of offenders and the preservation of peace. Secondly, for the military force stationed either at Cæsarea or Jerusalem; in this sense it means a division of the regular Roman army, of what number is uncertain on account of the variations in the use of the terms, but the expression *ὁ χιλιάρχος τῆς σπείρης* suggests that it was the force under the command of a military tribune. In that case it would be the tenth part of a legion, and would be nominally about six hundred strong. It is easy to suppose that such a force may have formed the garrison either at Cæsarea or Jerusalem, and much more probable that it did so, than that a complete legion was stationed at either place.

The term *Italica*, or *Augusta*, as applied to the *σπεῖρα*, is most likely used in the second sense, and does not refer to the legions of that name, but to divisions or cohorts called by it, though it is allowed that the term *σπείρης Σεβαστῆς* might refer to a division of the *Legio Augusta*, which may in the first century have been stationed at Cæsarea. The only difficulty in this interpretation is that it is not likely an entire legion would have been stationed in Cæsarea, but a detachment of the *Legio Augusta* might easily have been there and have been known by the name of *σπεῖρα Σεβαστῆς*.

CRESCENS.

2 *Tim.* iv. 10.

The name of a Christian, who was one of the companions of St Paul during his imprisonment at Rome, but had left him and gone to Galatia.

Crescens is not elsewhere mentioned in the New Testament, but the passage is curious on account of the different reading of *Gallia* for *Galatia* (*εἰς Γαλλίαν* instead of *εἰς Γαλατῖαν*).

This reading is now only found in the *Codex Sinaiticus* and *Ephraemi*: it was, however, the reading adopted by *Athanasius*, *Eusebius*, and *Theodoret*, who all held that the correct reading was *εἰς Γαλλίαν*; and a tradition seems to have arisen in later times that *Crescens* was the founder of the Church of *Vienne* in *Gaul*.

There is little doubt that all this is a mistake, as Christianity had not, at the time mentioned, been introduced into *Gaul*.

The Galatian Church had been founded by St Paul during his first Missionary journey, and was not unlikely to be visited by one of his companions.

The name occurs in the second century as that of a bitter opponent of Christianity, and enemy of Justin Martyr, whose death he is said to have caused. As the death of Justin occurred in 160 A.D. it could not have been the same person; but the similarity of names suggests that it may have been a relative or descendant of the Crescens known to St Paul, who had relapsed into Paganism.

CRISPUS.

1 *Cor.* i. 14.

The name of a native of Corinth, who had been baptized by St Paul: it is a common Latin name, first mentioned by Cicero *ad Atticum*, xii. 3.

DAMARIS.

Acts xvii. 34.

The name of a woman converted by St Paul¹ at Athens. The name does not elsewhere occur, nor is it a classical form. Damalis is the Attic form, and occurs as the name of the wife of the Athenian general Chares.

DEMAS.

Col. iv. 14; *Philemon* 24; 2 *Tim.* iv. 10.

The name of a companion of St Paul, in the first two instances mentioned with St Luke as sending his salutation: in the last,

¹ The conjecture of Chrysostom *De Sacerdot.* iv. 74, 12 that Damaris was the wife of Dionysius is based on a mistranslation of the passage: the text is Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρειοπαγέτης καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις. ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ would have been required to give the meaning—his wife Damaris. For the name Damalis cf. Polybius v. 43. Cf. Hor. *Od.* I. vi. 13.

as having forsaken the Apostle from unworthy motives. The name is not elsewhere found, nor is it a classical form: it may possibly be a contraction of Demaratus, a common Greek name.

DEMETRIUS.

Acts xix. 24; 3 John 12.

The name of a silversmith at Ephesus, who made small silver models of the temple of Diana. The name was extremely common in antiquity. It is interesting to remark that the first occasion on which it occurs is as the name of an architect, who, in conjunction with Præonius, completed the great temple of Diana in the reign of Alexander the Great¹.

From the passage in 3 John 12, *Δημητρίῳ μεμαρτύρηται ὑπὸ πάντων*, it seems not unlikely that in the end he became a convert to Christianity, as the Third Epistle of St John was apparently written from Ephesus to Gaius either at Corinth or in Macedonia, and the mention of Demetrius is of a commendatory kind, intended to induce the Church to receive him.

DIONYSIUS.

The name of a member of the court of Areopagus, converted to Christianity together with some others by St Paul at Athens.

It was an extremely common name in antiquity, first occurring as the name of the tyrant of Syracuse about 406 B.C.

The name does not occur again in Ecclesiastical History until the time of Eusebius who mentions him as one of the persons who were appointed as bishops by the Apostles themselves, stating that he was the first Bishop of Athens, and distinguishing him from a later Dionysius who was Bishop of Corinth in the second century.

That Dionysius the Areopagite became the first Bishop of Athens is not impossible, though it is not mentioned before the

¹ Vitruvius vii. Pref. 16.

fourth century. Eusebius does not however state that he was the author of any works, and those passing by his name are spurious, and belong to a period not earlier than the fourth century.

DIOTREPES.

3 *John* 9.

An ordinary Greek name first mentioned in Thucydides viii. 64 as the name of an Athenian general; the person mentioned by St John was most likely one of the party leaders of the Church at Ephesus.

DRUSILLA.

See *AGRIPPA ad fin.*

EPÆNETUS.

Rom. xvi. 5.

A Christian residing at Rome, described as the firstfruits of Achaia; the name occurs in Athenæus¹ as a writer on culinary subjects.

EPAPHRAS.

Philem. 23.

The name of a companion of St Paul; the name is not elsewhere mentioned in the New Testament, and is not found in the classical writers; it is possibly a shortened form of Epaphroditus, a common name for freedmen at the time.

EPAPHRODITUS.

Philip. ii. 25, iv. 18.

The name of an intimate companion and friend of St Paul whom he employed to convey his epistle to Philippi. He is not elsewhere mentioned, and there is some difficulty in ascertaining who the person was. It occurs twice as the name of a freedman of the imperial household², first as a freedman of Octavianus, next as the freedman and favourite of the Emperor Nero, who assisted

¹ Athenæus, vii. 328.

² Dion Cass. ii. 11, 13. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 55. Suet. *Nero* xlix. *Domit.* xiv.

him in committing suicide, and was afterwards put to death by Domitian. Though the date is the same as that of the person mentioned by St Paul, it can hardly have been the same person, as there is no reason to suppose that Epaphroditus the freedman of Nero was a Christian, and the companion of St Paul seems to have resided at Philippi, not at Rome. The most probable explanation of the use of the name seems to be, that owing to the celebrity of Epaphroditus the freedman of Nero, it was adopted by other freedmen, one of whom had been converted by St Paul and employed as his assistant.

ERASTUS. *Acts* xix. 22; *Romans* xvi. 23; *2 Tim.* iv. 20.

A companion of St Paul, first mentioned as sent by him with St Timothy from Asia to Macedonia; he is next mentioned as sending his salutation to the church of Rome, and is in the epistle called the οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως, the chamberlain or public treasurer of the city, most likely of Corinth, as he is mentioned in *2 Tim.* iv. 20 as then resident at Corinth. The name occurs in the classical writers as one of the early disciples of Plato, and afterwards known as a member of the Socratic School¹.

EUBULUS. *2 Tim.* iv. 21.

The name of a Roman Christian who sent his salutation to St Timothy; the name is not uncommon in the classical period, and first occurs about 37 B.C. as the name of a comic poet mentioned by Suidas.

EUODIA. *See* CLEMENS.

EUTYCHUS. *Acts* xx. 9.

The name of one of the audience of St Paul at Troas who fell from the window by accident.

¹ Diog. Laert. iii. 46. Plato *Epist.* vi.

The name does not elsewhere occur, nor is it found in the classical writers; it is most likely a form of Eutyches or Euty-chius, which was not uncommon.

FELIX.

Acts xxiii. 26, xxiv. 22, 25, 27.

The name of one of the Procurators of Syria before whom St Paul was brought.

His full name was Claudius Antonius Felix, he was a freedman of the emperor Claudius and brother of the freedman Pallas, who had great influence in the reign of Nero. Felix seems to have succeeded Cumanus in 51 A.D., and was recalled in 62 A.D., when he was succeeded by Porcius Festus; he was accused after his recall by the Jews at Rome, but acquitted owing to the influence of his brother Pallas. His wife Drusilla was a Jewess¹, and a descendant of the Herod family.

Felix, owing to his position as a freedman of Claudius, was well known in antiquity, and he is mentioned by Tacitus²,

¹ Drusilla, the wife of Felix, is mentioned in Tac. *Hist.* iv. 9. He is mistaken, however, in describing her as granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra. She was in reality the daughter of Herod Agrippa I. Drusilla is a Roman name, and first occurs as the name of Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus.

² The following passage of Tacitus may be taken as a specimen of the way in which his conduct was regarded by the classical writers:

Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54, At non frater ejus, cognomento Felix, pari moderatione agebat, jam pridem Judææ inpositus, et cuncta malefacta sibi inpune ratus, tanta potentia subnixo. Sane præbuerant Judæi speciem motus orta seditione, postquam C. Cæsari haud obtemperatum esset; cognita cæde ejus, sedata. Manebat metus, ne quis principum eadem imperitaret. Atque interim Felix intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat, æmulo ad deterrima Ventidio Cumano, cui pars provinciæ habebatur: ita divisus, ut huic Galilæorum natio, Felici Samaritæ parerent, discordes olim, et tum, contemptu regentium, minus coercitis odiis. Igitur raptare inter se, immittere latronum globos; componere insidias, et aliquando præliis congregi, spoliaque et prædas ad procuratores referre. Hique primo lætari, mox gliscente pernicie, cum arma militum interjecissent, cæsi milites. Arsissetque bello provincia, ni Quadratus, Syriæ rector, subvenisset. Nec diu adversus Judæos, qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum, quin capite poenas luerent: Cumanus et Felix cunctationem adferebant, quia Claudius, caussis rebellionis auditis, jus statuendi etiam de procuratoribus dederat. Sed Quadratus Felicem inter judices ostentavit, receptum in tribunal, quo studia adcusantium deterrerentur: damnatusque flagitiorum, quæ duo

Suetonius and Josephus; he is always spoken of in the most unfavourable terms on account of his cruelty and rapacity, and if we may believe the account of Tacitus was one of the worst characters of the reign of Claudius. The name Felix was an agnomen rather than a proper name¹, and was first used by the dictator Sulla.

FESTUS.

Acts xxiv. 27, xxv., xxvi.

Porcius Festus succeeded Felix as Procurator in A.D. 62, and was the person before whom St Paul appeared as a prisoner, and who apparently accepted his innocence.

He is not mentioned by any writer of the period with the exception of Josephus², who mentions him as a rigorous magistrate, prompt in suppressing robbery and assassination. He died after a short term of office and was succeeded by Albinus.

FORTUNATUS.

I Cor. xvi. 17.

The name of a Christian at Corinth, who went together with two others to meet St Paul at Ephesus, most probably with contributions. "I am glad of the coming of Stephanus and Fortunatus and Achaicus."

The name occurs in the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and the person is most likely the same. "See that ye send back to us quickly in peace and with joy Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together also with Fortunatus, who were sent unto you from us." The person is most likely the same, and the mention of Fortunatus in the Epistle of Clement

deliquerant, Cumanus: et quies provinciæ reddita. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 9; Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xx. 5; *Bell. Jud.* xi. 13, 3; Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* xi. 20. He was known to Suetonius, who calls him "trium reginarum maritus," on what grounds is not known, as only his marriage with Drusilla is mentioned. Suetonius, *Claudius*, xxviii. 1.

¹ Seneca *de Clement.* i. 14, 2.

² Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xxi. 8, 9, 10; c. 9, 9, 10; *Bell. Jud.* xi. 14. The name occurs in 69 A.D., Valerius Festus being mentioned as legatus in Africa, Tac. *Hist.* xi. 98.

shows that it must have been written not long after the Epistle of St Paul, and certainly in the first century. Fortunatus does not occur in any classical writer as a proper name, Fortunatianus, being employed; it occurs however as an adjective in the sense of prosperous, or well-circumstanced.

GAIVS. *Acts* xix. 29, xx. 4; *Rom.* xvi. 23; *1 Cor.* i. 14;
3 *John* 1.

Several persons of this name are mentioned in the New Testament, the exact number cannot be ascertained: the Gaius mentioned in *Acts* xix. 29 was a native of Macedonia; in *Acts* xx. 4, a native of Derbe, and consequently a Lycaonian; in *1 Cor.* i. 14, a native of Corinth, who had been baptized by St Paul,—in *Rom.* xvi. the person mentioned as Gaius is most likely the same as the person mentioned in the Epistle to the Corinthians; he is there described as the host of the Apostle, most likely at Corinth: the Gaius to whom the Third Epistle of St John is addressed is entirely unknown.

The name is a Roman one, originally spelt Caius, but always Γάιος in the Greek: its frequent occurrence is accounted for by the fact that it was an extremely common middle-class name, and may have belonged to several members of the early Church. Gaius only occurs in the classical writers as the name of the celebrated jurist, who lived most probably during the reign of Caracalla.

GALLIO. *Acts* xviii. 12.

The name of the Proconsul, ἀνθύπατος, of Achaia, the Roman name of the province which included Hellas and the Peloponnesus.

He is not again mentioned in the New Testament, but the name occurs as that of a friend of Seneca and the author of a work on rhetoric, who, according to Dion Cassius, was put to death by Nero¹.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* vi. 3. Dion Cass. lviii. 18. Senec. *Controv.* i. 2. Quintilian ix. 2. 91.

Although it is not quite certain that the two were the same, it is not unlikely that Junius Gallio was the person mentioned in the Acts; as he was a person of senatorial rank and had some influence in public affairs. The name occurs a second time as the adopted son of Junius Gallio, whose name he took.

HERMAS.

Rom. xvi. 14.

The name of a Christian residing at Rome mentioned by St Paul in the Epistle to the Romans. Though there is no reason to doubt the reality of Hermas as a person there is some difficulty in supplying any details about him. In the first place the name though classical in form is not found in any classical writer, Hermeias or Hermias being the forms used. Hermodorus is however a name of common occurrence in antiquity, and it has been suggested that Hermas is the abbreviated form of Hermodorus, as Artemas is for Artemidorus. The actual name Hermas as that of one of the Christians of the Apostolic period is sufficiently attested by the writings of the fathers from Clement of Alexandria¹ downwards. A further question connected with the name arises from the assertion extremely common among the Christian fathers, that the Hermas mentioned by St Paul was the author of the work called the *Shepherd*. That it was written by a person of the name of Hermas is sufficiently attested by the work itself, in which the name Hermas occurs repeatedly. That this person was the Hermas known to St Paul rests apparently on a passage in Origen² and cannot be traced to any earlier writer nor to the *Shepherd* of Hermas itself, where none of the Apostles are mentioned. From a passage in the Muratorian Canon³ as

¹ *Strom.* i. 29, 181.

² Origen, *ad Rom.* xvi. 14, Puto quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli istius qui Pastor appellatur. Cf. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 5, 6; Jerome, *Catal. script. eccl.* x. 11, 846.

³ Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit, sedente in cathedrâ urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre ejus. *Canon Murat. ad fin.*

well as from the evidence supplied by the contents of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, it seems most probable that it was written by a second person of that name, a layman and the brother of Pius I. the Bishop of Rome. As the episcopacy of Pius I. falls between 142 and 157 A.D. we are thus able to fix the first half of the second century or the beginning of the second half as the period at which the *Shepherd* of Hermas was probably written. It is first quoted by Irenæus but without the name of the author, and as the work of Hermas by Clement of Alexandria, about 200 A.D.

HERMES.

“Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them.” *Rom.* xvi. 14.

The salutation is apparently sent to an association of Christians at Rome, but of what nature and for what purpose is not known: it seems to be the first mention of a Christian community.

The occurrence of the name Hermes calls for a little remark: from its similarity to Hermas it might have been supposed to have been the same name, but the received reading occurs in all the chief manuscripts¹, the only difference being that the order is changed in a few MSS.², which read Hermes, Patrobas, Hermas.

The name Hermes, which is that of the god Mercury, does not occur on good authority as a proper name³, and its use as the name of a Christian seems unlikely; it is most probably an abbreviation of Hermestes, which occurs as a various reading

¹ In the Alex., Vat. and Sinait. mss. The following is the exact reading of the Vatican MS. ἀσπασασθε ἀσυγκριτον φλεγοντα. ἐρμῇ πατροβαν ἐρμαν καὶ τοὺς συν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφούς.

² The Codex Claromontanus and Angelicus Romanus.

³ It only occurs as a proper name in Auctor ad Herennium, where it is mentioned as the name of a Greek rhetorician (I, 11). The name Hermestes occurs however as a various reading and is most likely the real form.

in the only passage in any classical writers in which Hermes is used as a proper name. Nothing further is known of the person mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans.

HERMOGENES.

2 *Tim.* i. 15.

The name of an Asiatic Christian who is mentioned with Phygellus as one of those who had deserted St Paul.

The name was extremely common in antiquity, and occurs in Suetonius¹ as the name of a native of Tarsus who was put to death by Domitian, and may not improbably have been the person mentioned by St Paul, in which case he may be supposed to have left the Asiatic church.

HEROD. *Matt.* ii., xiv.; *Luke* i., iii., ix., xxiii.; *Mark* vi.; *Acts* iv., xii., xiii. in eight places, q.v.

The name does not occur in the Gospel of S. John or in the Epistles.

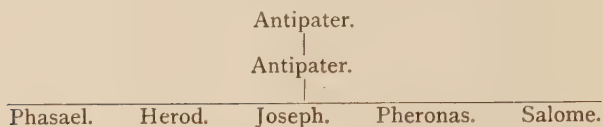
It is used in the New Testament of three persons to whom the same name is given: first of Herod the Great, secondly of Herod Antipas, and thirdly of Herod Agrippa I.

The Herod mentioned in connection with the events of the Nativity is evidently Herod the Great; the expression used in St Matthew and St Luke *ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως* containing the same title as that found on the coins of Herod, which is always *ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*.

The Herod mentioned in *Matt.* xiv.; *Luke* ix., xxiii.; *Mark* vi.; *Acts* iv., is Herod Antipas, and he is quite correctly called not Herod the king but Herod the tetrarch; for Josephus states definitely that Archelaus alone received the title of king, Herod Antipas and Philip being called tetrarchs.

The following is the received genealogy of Herod according to Josephus who is nearly the only authority on the subject.

¹ Suetonius, *Domit.* 10, Item Hermogenem Tarsensem propter quasdam in historiâ figuras.



The first Antipater was a noble of Idumæan descent but a Jew by religion, to whom the governorship of Idumæa had been given by Alexander Jannæus. His son Antipater was in 47 B.C. appointed by Julius Cæsar to be Procurator of Syria, Herod the son of the second Antipater being at the same time appointed Governor of Galilee. After the death of his father in 33 B.C. Herod rose rapidly in favour with the Romans, from whom he received repeated additions of territory, until his dominions included nearly the whole of Palestine. He died shortly after the Christian era, leaving his kingdom by will divided among his three sons, Archelaus, Herod Antipas¹, and Philip; Archelaus being left Judæa with the title of king, Herod Antipas being made tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip tetrarch of Ituræa.

Herod Antipas the tetrarch of Galilee was removed from his office by Caligula in A.D. 39, and banished to Lyons in Gaul and afterwards to Spain, where he died, at what date is uncertain. The Herod mentioned in Acts xii. is Herod Agrippa and the Agrippa of Josephus: he was the son of Aristobulus and the grandson of Herod the Great; he received from Caligula the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, and died at Cæsarea A.D. 44 under circumstances related nearly in the same way in Josephus and in the Acts of the Apostles.

The name of Herod was last used by Herod king of Chalcis, who died A.D. 48, and who is not mentioned in the New Testament; the name of the family seems afterwards to have been changed to Agrippa, under which it lasted until the

¹ In Luke xxiii. 6 it is stated that our Lord being supposed to be a Galilæan was sent to Herod for examination, and this again is in accordance with the account in Josephus who states that Antipas received the province of Galilee by his father's will: why he was at Jerusalem at the time is not quite certain, as it was not included in his dominions, but it is not unlikely that he was there to keep the feast of Passover, as the family of Herod were Jews of a strict kind.

commencement of the second century, when Agrippa II., the king Agrippa of the Acts of the Apostles and great-grandson of Herod the Great, died at Rome in the third year of Trajan A.D. 101. The last lineal descendant of the Herod family was Agrippa the son of Drusilla and Felix the governor of Judæa. She returned with Felix to Italy at the close of his governorship, and according to Josephus both Drusilla and Agrippa perished in the eruption of Vesuvius by which Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed. Drusilla was the daughter of Herod Agrippa I., who was the grandson of Herod the Great. The exact fate of Bernice the remaining member of the family is not known, the last mention of her being that she was banished from Rome¹ in the reign of Vespasian.

The political influence of the family seems gradually to have diminished; Archelaus and Antipas being deposed and banished by the Romans, Agrippa I. and II. being the last members of the family who were allowed to use the title of king or to exercise any political influence. On the breaking out of the Jewish rebellion Agrippa II. and his sister Bernice both openly joined the Roman cause, and after the capture of Jerusalem accompanied Vespasian to Rome where Agrippa II. who remained unmarried died, as was stated, in the third year of Trajan, A.D. 101.

With regard to the name of Herod it is said to have been that of a choliambic poet, the contemporary of Hipponax. The name is however doubtful, and it is not certain that it was used before the time of Herod the Great. The name occurs in the second century A.D. as the name of Herodes Attici, a Greek grammarian, but does not seem afterwards to have been used, the form Herodianus being substituted. The name of Herod though not often mentioned was known to the classical writers. Persius v. 180, *Herodis venere dies*. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, *Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum, victor Augustus auxit*. Dion Cassius xlix. 20,

¹ The following passages in Josephus contain the most important mention of the reign of Herod. *Bell. Jud.* i. 10, 14—33. *Antiq.* xiv. 9, 15, 16; xv. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10; xvi. 2—11; xvii. 1—8.

ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν [οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] Ἡρώδῃ τινὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἄρχειν ἐπέτρεψε; liv. 9, τῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ Ζηνοδώρου τινὸς τετραρχίαν [ἔδωκεν Αὐγουστος]; lv. 27, ὁ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος αἰτίαν • τινὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη. There can be little doubt that in the last passage the deposition of Archelaus by Augustus is alluded to; the word ἐδημοσιώθη (in publicum redacta) showing that Judæa then for the first time became a Roman province, and was put under the Procurator of Syria. lx. 7, τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ τό τε στρατηγικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ δυναστείαν τινὰ ἔδωκε [Κλαύδιος]. The brother is Agrippa I. who was also promoted by Claudius, and the allusion in the passage is to the appointment of the last person who used the name of Herod to be ruler of Chalcis. The above passages it will be seen contain in epitome a sketch of the history of the Herod family, and harmonise in all respects with the account in Josephus. This use of the name Herodes for Archelaus should be noticed, as it shows that the term Herod was used as a family name.

HERODION.

Rom. xvi. 11.

The name of a relative of St Paul who resided at Rome. The actual name is not found in the classical writers, and it is possibly an abbreviated form of Herodianus; the exact relationship is not known.

HYMENÆUS.

1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

The name of an heretical Christian who had been formally excommunicated by St Paul. In the first passage he is mentioned in conjunction with Alexander, in the second with Philetus; from the second passage we learn what the erroneous doctrine was, that the resurrection was already past. This seems to have been an early form of Gnosticism, afterwards developed in the systems of Valentinus. The name only occurs in the classical

writers as that of the mythological god of marriage Ὑμῆν or Ὑμέναιος¹.

JASON.

Rom. xvi. 21.

The name of a relative of St Paul residing at Rome mentioned with Sosipater, who was also a relative of the Apostle. In neither case is the exact relationship known; they were most likely relatives of his sister, who was married and had a son. The name Jason, which is common in antiquity, first occurs in *Hom. Il.* vii. 469.

JULIA.

Rom. xvi. 15.

The name of a female Christian residing at Rome. It was an ordinary feminine name in the family of the Cæsars, and first occurs as the name of the aunt of Julius Cæsar the dictator. The person mentioned in the epistle to the Romans may have been a member or dependant of the imperial family. There was also a person called Julia Procilla, the mother of Agricola, who is spoken of by Tacitus² in the highest terms, and might possibly have been the person mentioned by St Paul.

JUNIA.

Rom. xvi. 7.

The name of a female Christian, a relative of St Paul, and residing at Rome. It was a common female name in Italy, and first occurs as the name of the mother of Marcellus³, who was consul B.C. 50. The following persons are mentioned by St Paul as his relatives. Andronicus, Herodian, Jason, Junia, Lucius, and Sosipater. He had also a sister and nephew whose names are not given, the exact relationships of the others cannot be ascertained. The word συγγενής which is employed means merely a member of the same family, and does not express the definite relationship.

¹ Sappho *fragm.* 73. Euripid. *Troades* 311. Catull. lxi. 2.

² Tac. *Agric.* iv.

³ Cicero, *ad Fam.* xv. 7, 8.

JUSTUS.

Acts i. 23; Coloss. iv. 11.

An additional name used by Joseph Barsabas, and a Jew, named Jesus. That the word, though a Latin adjective, was used as a Jewish name, is sufficiently evident from the name of the historian Justus of Tiberias, the contemporary and opponent of Josephus¹.

LINUS.

2 Tim. iv. 21.

A Christian mentioned by St Paul as residing at Rome and sending his salutation to Timothy. Since the time of Irenæus it has generally been supposed that the Linus mentioned in the epistle to Timothy was the first bishop of Rome. "The blessed Apostles therefore having founded and built up the church (at Rome) entrusted the office of bishop to Linus. Of this Linus Paul made mention in his epistle to Timothy²." The same view is definitely taken by Eusebius³. "Linus, whom he (St Paul) mentions as having been with him at Rome at the time of the sending of the second epistle to Timothy, has been shown to have been the first elected in succession to Peter to the Bishopric of the church of the Romans." The name itself only occurs in antiquity as that of the mythological Linus, a herdsman poet who was killed by accident, and afterwards gave his name to dirges and funeral odes.

LUCAS.

Coloss. iv. 14; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11.

The evangelist St Luke, the companion of St Paul in his missionary journeys. The name Lucas or Luke does not occur in any classical writer, nor is it found again except as the name of the evangelist. It has been suggested that it is an abbreviated

¹ Joseph. *Vit.* 35, 67, 74.

² Iren. *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 3.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4. Of the first four of the early bishops of Rome, the first and third, Linus and Clement, are mentioned in the New Testament. The second, Anacletus, was apparently well known to the Apostles, as was the fourth, Evaristus.

form of Lucanus¹, and this is not improbable, but there is no actual proof that Lucanus was ever shortened in this way, and the name Λουκᾶς may not improbably have been a local name at Antioch, of which town he is supposed to have been a native². He was apparently not a Jew by birth, and the date and circumstances of his conversion are not known, but he is not unlikely to have been one of the early Gentile converts made by St Paul. For this we have the definite authority of Tertullian³, and there seems no reason to doubt it. The remaining circumstances connected with his career, of which little is known, are as follows.

He was a physician by profession, who had become a Christian and joined St Paul at Troas, and accompanied him on his expedition to Macedonia during his second missionary journey. He remained the travelling companion of St Paul, was at Cæsarea during his imprisonment by Felix and Festus, and accompanied him on his voyage to Rome; is there found sending his salutation to Philemon, and the only companion of the Apostle at the time of the composition of the Second Epistle to Timothy. This is all that is absolutely certain in the history of St Luke; though we might infer that he did not long survive the Apostle, or may even have shared his martyrdom, as no events are mentioned in the Acts after the close of the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment.

A fictitious element has been imported into the account by the statements of later writers. The most important of these are as follows: that he was a painter by profession, that he was one of the seventy disciples, that he was the second disciple who with Cleopas made the journey to Emmaus. That after the death of St Paul he preached in Gallia, Dalmatia and Macedonia, and eventually underwent martyrdom in Bithynia.

¹ Lucanus in Greek is spelt Λευκανος. Cf. the title of the Greek treatise of Ocellus Lucanus, Ωκελου Λευκανου.

² Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 10. Jerome, *Script. Eccl.* Lucas.

³ *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 2.

None of these stories seem to be well established, though some of them are more probable than others.

A few remaining circumstances may be mentioned, which, though not absolutely certain, are probable. That he was a native of Antioch, not a Jew by birth but a Gentile, was a person of considerable education, accustomed to composition in Greek, and that his real name was Lucilius which by the local pronunciation of Antioch was shortened to Λουκάς, and should not be confused with Lucius who is a different person. The name Λουκάς does not seem to have been used by any other person, the Latin Lucius being the nearest approach to it found.

Since the time of Irenæus, who mentions both works¹, no doubt has been entertained that he was the author of the Gospel and the Acts, and it is interesting to notice that both Irenæus and Tertullian² consider the Gospel of St Luke as embodying a good deal of the teaching of St Paul.

LUCIUS.

Acts xiii. 1 ; *Romans* xvi. 21.

The name of a Christian residing at Antioch but a native of Greece. He seems afterwards to have resided at Corinth, as he is mentioned as sending his salutation to Rome in the epistle to the Romans. Lucius, Jason and Sosipater are there stated to be relations (συγγενεῖς) of St Paul. Lucius is not to be confounded with the evangelist St Luke, the two names Lucius and Lucas

¹ Iren. *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 1, Λουκάς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. Cf. Tertull. *contra Marcion.* iv. 5. For his authorship of the Acts, cf. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 14, Quoniam autem is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paulo et cooperarius ejus in Evangelio, ipse facit manifestum, non glorians, sed ab ipsâ productus veritate.

² The following passages may be consulted as to the position of St Luke as the author of the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles of which no doubt seems ever to have been entertained: Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 1, 10, 12, 14, 15, 22. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 12 p. 696. Tertull. *De Baptismo* 10. *De jejuniis* 10. Jerome, *Script. Eccl.* Lucas. Eusebius, *H. E.* i. 5 ; ii. 22 ; iii. 4, 24, 31 ; v. 8 ; vi. 25. *Canon Muratorianus*, Tertium evangelii librum secundum Lucam. Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi cum cum Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum adsumsisset, nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne, et ita ab nativitate Johannis incipit dicere.

being different forms. Lucius was an extremely common Latin name, generally found as a name of the Gens Junia, and first occurring in Livy i. 56.

LYSANIAS.

Luke iii. 1.

The tetrarch of Abilene, at the time of the Nativity. Abilene was a province of Cœle-Syria, lying to the north of Galilee, Bata-nea and Trachonitis. It is first mentioned in history about 40 B.C., when it was ruled by a sovereign named Ptolemæus¹. He was succeeded by his son, named Lysanias, who was put to death by Marcus Antonius at the instigation of Cleopatra². He left a son named Lysanias, who succeeded to a portion of his father's dominions³, and is evidently the Lysanias mentioned by St Luke. His reign lasted until A.D. 37, when Caligula deprived him of his dominion and bestowed it on Herod Agrippa I. The name is an Attic one of some antiquity, and is first found as the name of one of the companions of Socrates⁴.

MARCUS. *Acts* xii. 12, xv. 37, 39; *Coloss.* iv. 10; 2 *Tim.* iv. 11; *Philem.* 24; 1 *Pet.* v. 13.

The son of the sister of Barnabas, and a disciple of and attendant on St Paul. His original name was John to which Mark was afterwards added, most likely to distinguish him from the Apostle St John. In the latter part of his life he appears to have been called Mark alone, in the same way in which St Paul abandoned the Hebrew name Saul, and adopted the Latin Paulus. He is thus spoken of in the New Testament in three ways, as John alone⁵, as John who is called Mark⁶, as Mark alone⁷.

All that is known of him from Scripture is as follows: that

¹ Dion Cassius, xlix. 32.

² Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xv. 4.

³ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xx. 7.

⁴ Plato, *Apol. Socr.* 22.

⁵ *Acts* xiii. 5, 13.

⁶ *Acts* xii. 12, 25, xv. 37, 40.

⁷ *Colos.* iv. 10; 2 *Tim.* iv. 11; *Philemon* 24; 1 *Pet.* v. 13.

he accompanied St Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary journey of St Paul¹, but left them at Pamphylia², that his services on that account were declined by St Paul on his second journey, and he then accompanied Barnabas to Cyprus. His difference with St Paul seems to have been adjusted, as he was summoned by him to Rome³, and is found there with him sending his salutation to the church at Colossæ and to Philemon⁴, and when last mentioned he is still residing there as the companion of St Peter.

This is all that is known about him from contemporary evidence, but a very early tradition, dating from the time of Papias, states that he remained at Rome after the death of St Peter and St Paul, and there composed the Gospel called by his name, using as his materials the preaching of St Peter. In this statement, though it cannot be traced farther than Papias⁵, there is nothing improbable, and it is generally accepted as a correct account of the composition of the Gospel of St Mark, though there is a little variation in the tradition, some placing the composition of the Gospel after the death of St Peter, others putting it during his lifetime, and actually from his dictation⁶. Nothing is known of the latter period of the life of St Mark, the tradition that makes him the founder of the church of Alexandria not being found before the time of Eusebius⁷.

The name Marcus was an extremely common Roman præ-nomen, often used by the gens Tullia, and occurs as early as 500 B.C. as Marcus Tullius Longus. Its use as a single name

¹ Acts xii. 25.

² Acts xv. 37—40.

³ 2 Tim. iv. 11.

⁴ Colos. iv. 10; Philemon 24; 1 Pet. v. 13.

⁵ Papias quoted by Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 39, Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν. Cf. Iren. *Adv. Hæc.* iii. 1, Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων (Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου) ἐξοδὸν, Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Hypotyp.* apud Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15; Tertull. *contra Marcion.* iv. 5.

⁶ Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14 states that the Gospel was composed during the lifetime of St Peter. Cf. Jerome *ad Helvidium, quæst.* xi., Habebat ergo Paulus Titum interpretem, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cujus evangelium, Petro narrante et illo scribente, compositum est.

⁷ Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15.

would show that the person using it was not of high rank, and it seems often to have been adopted by manumitted slaves—

Verterit hunc dominus, memento turbinis exit
Marcus Dama—

Persius v. 77.

It would thus be an appropriate name for an attendant or servant, the post St Mark occupied.

MNASON.

Acts xxi. 16.

A Christian described as an old disciple and a native of Cyprus, with whom St Paul lodged during his last visit to Jerusalem. The name is Greek, and occurs as that of a disciple of Aristotle mentioned by Athenæus¹.

NARCISSUS.

Romans xvi. 11.

The name of an unknown person at Rome, some of whose establishment had become Christian. "Salute them that are of the household of Narcissus, who are in the Lord." It is not certain that Narcissus himself was a Christian.

The only historical person of that name was the celebrated freedman of Claudius², who was put to death by Nero in the first year of his reign. As the accession of Nero took place in 54 A.D.³, and the composition of the Epistle to the Romans falls about 60 A.D., the Narcissus mentioned by St Paul could not be the same, unless we suppose that his family had remained at Rome after his death. There seems however to have been a second Narcissus, a freedman of Nero, who was put to death by the emperor Galba⁴. The date of the salutation will harmonize better with the name of the second Narcissus than with that of the favourite of Claudius. The name, which was originally a

¹ *Deipnosoph.* vi. 264.

² Suet. *Claud.* 28.

³ Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1.

⁴ Dion Cass. lxiv. 3.

mythological one, occurs in inscriptions as the name of a freedman of Claudius e.g. NARCISSUS AUG. L. AB EPISTOLIS, which implies that he was a freedman of the Emperor, and had charge of his correspondence.

NEREUS.

Romans xvi. 15.

The name of a Christian residing at Rome; it is not found in the classical writers except as the name of the mythical sea-god¹.

The person mentioned by St Paul was most likely a freedman, and a dependant of some wealthy family.

NICANOR.

Acts vi. 5.

The name of one of the seven deacons.

It was a well-known Macedonian name, and first occurs in the reign of Alexander the Great as the name of a general who commanded the foot-guards².

NICODEMUS.

John iii. 1.

The name of a Pharisee who consulted our Lord.

It is a not uncommon Greek name, and first occurs in 339 B.C. as the name of a Greek in Sicily who was driven out by Timoleon³. It occurs also as the name of a physician of Smyrna, to whom some epigrams are attributed⁴.

NICOLAUS.

Acts vi. 5.

The name of one of the seven deacons; he was a native of Antioch, a pagan by birth who had become a Jew.

The name is a common one in antiquity, first occurring as that of a Spartan mentioned by Herodotus. It often occurs as a classical name, and thus harmonizes with the description in Acts, which makes Nicolaus a proselyte from Antioch.

¹ Hom. *Il.* xviii. 141.

² Arrian, *Anab.* i. 43.

³ Diod. xvi. 82.

⁴ *Anthol. Græc.* iii. 9.

NYMPHAS.

Coloss. iv. 15.

The name of a Christian residing at Laodicæa.

The name does not occur elsewhere, and is not found in any classical writer, though Nymphis and Nymphius are found. It is most likely an abbreviated form of Nymphodorus, a not uncommon Greek name.

OLYMPAS.

Romans xvi. 15.

The name of a Christian residing at Rome. It is doubtful whether a male or female member of the church is meant, as there is some difference of reading in the MSS., Olympiades, Ὀλυμπείδης, and Ὀλυμπιάς, being found. The latter, which is the reading of the Graeco-Latin Claromontanus, is most likely the correct form, as Olympas does not occur in any classical writer, while Olympia was a common female name. If however the form Olympas is retained, it would be an abbreviation of Olympianus, and the person mentioned would be a man. The person mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans is apparently a female. ἀσπάσασθε Φιλόλογον καὶ Ἰουλίαν, Νηρέα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ὀλυμπᾶν.

PARMENAS.

Acts vi. 5.

The name of one of the seven deacons. The exact form is not found in any classical writer, Parmenus and Parmenius being used.

PATROBAS.

Rom. xvi. 14.

The name Patrobas does not occur in any classical writer, and it is evidently a contracted form of Patrobios¹, who we learn from Suetonius was a favourite freedman of the emperor Nero,

¹ Patrobios is mentioned by Tacitus as a typical bad character, Nondum quartus a victoria mensis, et libertus Vitellii Asiaticus, Polycletos, Patrobios et vetera odiorum nomina æquabat. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 95. Cf. Suetonius *Galb.* 20; Dion Cass. lxi. 3, 1.

and was residing at Rome in 65 A.D.; he was put to death in 68 A.D. after the suicide of Nero as an accomplice in his crimes. It is doubtful whether the person mentioned as Patrobas is the same person as Patrobius. He may however have become a Christian for a time, and so have been mentioned in the Epistle, or he may have been a servant or dependant of Patrobius.

PAULUS.

Acts xiii. 7.

A Roman cognomen of much celebrity generally but not always found as the name of a member of the Gens Æmilia. It is found spelt in two ways, Paullus and Paulus; the former seems to be the most ancient, and is found in inscriptions of the republican period. In coins and inscriptions of the imperial period it seems to have been spelt Paulus. The name first occurs in 301 B.C. when M. Æmilius Paullus was made master of the horse by the dictator M. Valerius Maximus¹.

The male line of Æmilius Paullus became extinct in 129 B.C. at the death of Scipio Africanus Minor; he was the younger son of Æmilius Paulus Macedonicus, but was adopted into the family of the Scipios and took their name. The exact name Æmilius Paulus does not afterwards occur.

The name Paulus is found twice in the New Testament.

I. As the name of the Proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus. He is not mentioned by any other writer, but the name occurs twice afterwards, L. Sergius Paulus having been one of the consuls suffecti in A.D. 94, L. Sergius Paulus consul A.D. 168. The Sergius Paulus mentioned in the Acts was not a descendant of the Æmilian family, but belonged to a minor official family under the empire.

II. The Apostle St Paul, first called by this name in Acts xiii. 9, Σαῦλος δὲ ὁ καὶ Παῦλος. He is generally supposed to have changed his name in compliment to Sergius Paulus the

¹ Livy, x. 3. Cf. Horace, *Ode* i. xii. 38,

Animæ magnæ

Prodigum Paullum superante Pœno,

where Paulum occurs in a different reading.

governor of the island, though this is not exactly stated. His former name Saul is the Hebrew Shaul and means "asked for." The name was most likely considered harsh and unpopular, and was naturally abandoned by the Apostle on commencing his mission to the Gentiles.

PERSIS.

Romans xvi. 12.

The name of a female Christian residing at Rome. It is not found elsewhere as a proper name, but is a Greek feminine adjective, meaning a Persian woman.

PHILEMON.

Epistle to Philemon 1.

An extremely common Greek name, first occurring in Aristophanes, *Aves*, 763. The Philemon to whom the epistle is addressed cannot be identified; there were however several persons of the name about that period, one of whom, a geographical writer quoted by Pliny¹, may have been the person to whom the epistle was addressed.

PHILIP.

Acts vi. 5.

The name of one of the first deacons. It is a common Greek name, and first occurs in Herodotus as the name of one of the citizens of Crotona; afterwards chiefly as a Macedonian name, but also used as a Roman one. That it was used in Syria is shown by the inscription

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ

on a coin of Philip who was king of Syria about 80 B.C.

PHILOLOGUS.

Romans xvi. 15.

The name of a Roman Christian; it is a regularly formed Greek adjective meaning a student of language or history, and was given as an appellative to Ateius Capito, a Roman grammarian² whose period falls about 50 B.C.; he was most pro-

¹ Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 13.

² Suetonius, *De Grammaticis Illustribus*, 10, Ateius Philologus libertinus Athenis natus.

bably the freedman of Ateius Capito the jurist and was called Ateius Philologus on account of his learning. The Philologus, mentioned in the epistle may have been his descendant.

PHLEGON.

Romans xvi. 14.

The name of a Roman Christian.

According to Suidas¹ there was a freedman of Augustus of that name, and the person mentioned by St Paul may have been the same or one of his descendants. There was also a later Phlegon who lived in the reign of Hadrian², and was the author of several works. His period, however, falls too late, being in the second century; but the name seems to have been that of a family settled at Rome.

PHŒBE.

Romans xvi. 1.

The name of a deaconess (διάκονον) of the church of Cenchrea near Corinth, who was most likely the person employed to convey the Epistle to the Romans to Rome. The name occurs in the classical writers only as the name of a mythological personage. The person is not afterwards mentioned.

PHYGELLUS.

2 Tim. i. 15.

The name of a person whose teaching was disapproved of by St Paul. The name does not elsewhere occur, and nothing is known of the person. There is a difference of reading in the MSS., the name being spelt Phygellus and Phygelus.

PRISCILLA.

Acts xviii. 2.

The name of the wife of Aquila, once spelt as Prisca, of which it is the diminutive. Prisca was a common feminine name in Italy, from which country Aquila and Priscilla had come, and the form Priscilla occurs in an inscription on a bas-relief discovered at Ulleti near Rome, "Caria Priscilla fecit."

¹ Photius, *Cod.* 97.

² Spartianus, *Hadrian* 11.

PROCHORUS.

Acts vi. 5.

The name of one of the seven deacons. It does not elsewhere occur, but is of regular formation.

PUBLIUS.

Acts xxviii. 7.

The name of the chief person in Melita: his exact position is not known, and the name does not afterwards occur. It is an ordinary Roman one, being a contracted form of Publilius, the name of a well-known Roman family.

PUDENS.

2 Tim. iv. 21.

The name of a Christian who is mentioned as sending his salutation to Timothy from Rome. It was an ordinary Roman name and first occurs in Tacitus who mentions Mæcius Pudens as a person employed by Otho to corrupt the soldiers of Galba.

QUIRINIUS¹.*Luke ii. 2.*

The name of the Roman governor of Syria at the time of the taxation.

The name is incorrectly given in the English version as Cyrenius which is not a classical form, Cyrenæus only being found.

The name is given as *Κυρήνιος* both in Josephus and in St Luke, and it is evidently the same person as the Quirinius

¹ The form Quirinus by which English scholars translate the *Κυρήνιος* of St Luke and Josephus is incorrect. Quirinus is always represented in Greek by *Κυρίνος*. The following quotations from Tacitus, who was apparently well acquainted with the name, show that the real spelling is Quirinius, not Quirinus.

Ob quæ posterum diem reus petivit: domumque digressus, extremas preces P. Quirinio propinquo suo ad principem mandavit. Responsum est, *ut senatum roget.* Tacit. *Ann.* ii. 30.

At Romæ Lepida, cui, super Æmiliorum decus, L. Sulla ac Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defertur, *simulavisse partum ex P. Quirinio, divite atque orbo.* Adjiciebantur *adulteria, venena; quæsitumque per Chaldaeos in domum Cæsaris:* defendente ream Manio Lepido, fratre. Quirinius, post dictum repudium adhuc infensus, quamvis infami ac nocenti miserationem addiderat. Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 22.

Lepida ludorum diebus, qui cognitionem intervenerant, theatrum cum clavis feminis ingressa, lamentatione flebili *maiores suos ciens, ipsumque Pompeium,* cujus ea monumenta et adstantes imagines visebantur, tantum misericordiæ permovit, ut, effusi in lacrymas, *sæva et detestanda Quirinio* clamitarent, *cujus senectæ atque*

mentioned by Tacitus, who was consul B.C. 12, and afterwards served under Augustus and Tiberius. That he was governor of Syria is not definitely mentioned by Tacitus, but it is by Josephus, and as Tacitus mentions that he was governor of Armenia, he may have held the governorship of Syria afterwards. The date of his appointment is most probably A.D. 5, so that the reference to the taxation must be explained in this way; the census or list of the populace was taken in the governorship of Saturninus A.D. 1, and the actual taxation or collection of the tribute took place five years later in the governorship of Quirinius.

orbitati, et obscurissimæ domui, destinata quondam uxor L. Cæsari, ac d. Augusto nurus, dederetur. Dein tormentis servorum patefacta sunt flagitia, itumque in sententiam Rubellii Blandi, a quo aqua atque igni arcebat. Huic Drusus adsensit, quamquam alii mitius censuissent. Mox Scauro, qui filiam ex ea genuerat, datum, ne bona publicarentur. Tum demum aperuit Tiberius: *comptum sibi etiam ex P. Quirinii servis, veneno eum a Lepida petitem.* Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 23.

Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirinii publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit a senatu. Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium: sed impiger militiæ, et acribus ministeriis, consulatum sub d. Augusto, mox, expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis, insignia triumphi adeptus; datusque rector C. Cæsari, Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque, Rhodi agentem, coluerat. Quod tunc patefecit in senatu: laudatis in se officiis, et incusato *M. Lollio*, quem, *auctorem C. Cæsari pravitatis et discordiarum*, arguebat. Sed ceteris haud læta memoria Quirinii erat, ob intenta, ut memoravi, Lepidæ pericula, sordidamque et præpotentem senectam. Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 48.

Suetonius, *Tib.* 49, calls him Quirinus consularis, but the text should most likely be altered to bring it into harmony with Tacitus who is a better authority. In Dion Cassius liv. 28 he is called Ἰόπλιος Σουλπίκιος alone.

Finally Josephus *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 1, 1 says definitely, that Quirinius, one of the Roman senators, who had held the other offices of state, and through all of them had made his way to the consulship, and was in other respects had in great estimation, came to Syria with a small force, having been sent by Cæsar to administer law to the nation, and also to act as an assessor of their property. There is a further reference to the taxation of Judæa by Quirinius Acts v. 37, where it is stated that Judas of Galilee arose as a leader in the days of the taxing, but was killed, and his followers dispersed; and this is explained by the account of Josephus *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 1, who states that Judas the Gaulonite, and Sadoc a Pharisee, persuaded the people to refuse to pay the tribute, but that their followers were killed and dispersed. The actual collection of the taxes in Judæa is mentioned in the following passages: Matth. xvii. 25, xxii. 17, 19; Mar. xii. 14.

The taxes imposed upon foreign nations formed an important part of the Roman revenue, as we learn from Cicero, who was Prætor of Cilicia in B.C. 60, that in his time the taxation in Cilicia and Syria amounted to one-fourth of every person's income, to which was added a tax upon horses and sheep. Cicero, in speaking of Cilicia, calls it the *ἐπικεφάλαιον* or poll-tax, and states that it was collected with much difficulty.

The actual expression used by St Luke with regard to the taxation of Judæa requires some explanation. The passage is as follows: *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὶ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογραφέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου.*

The expression *ἐν ἡμέραις ἐκείναις* refers to the events mentioned in the preceding chapter, the last of which is the birth of John the Baptist. The similar case of the taxing is mentioned partly to account for the presence of Joseph and Mary at Bethlehem and partly to fix the date; and the question arises what is the exact meaning of the terms employed. The expression *πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην* evidently admits of the meanings either the whole world, i.e. the whole Roman empire, or the whole land of Judæa, and the latter seems to be the best interpretation. Next, what is the meaning of the terms *ἀπογράφεσθαι* and *ἀπογραφὴ*, are they or not exactly the same? On referring to the use of these in the New Testament we find each of them used a single time: *ἀπογραφὴ* in Acts v. 37, *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς*, in the days of the taxing, and the reference is to an incident mentioned by Josephus of a leader arising who held that it was unlawful to pay the taxes, but was killed by the Roman governor in a riot which he had caused. We may thus assume that *ἀπογραφὴ* means taxing or the collection of taxes.

The word *ἀπογράφεσθαι* also occurs once, in an emphatic passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews: *πανηγίρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογεγραμμένων*, where the expression evidently means not taxed but registered or enrolled.

We thus arrive at the following meaning of the passage. A

decree was issued by Augustus Cæsar that the whole land of Judæa should be enrolled or registered with a view to its being taxed, and the actual taxation took place at a later time, i.e. when Quirinius was governor of Syria. The other meaning, that the whole Roman empire is the sense in the passage, is not inadmissible so far as the ἀπογράφεσθαι is concerned, but does not suit the ἀπογραφὴ, a taxing, as taxes had been levied in the Roman Empire in the republican period.

If we turn to the secular history of the time to see how far the statement of St Luke is confirmed by it, we find in Tacitus¹ a statement that after the death of Augustus a complete list of the revenues and receipts of the Roman empire was found among his papers, so that the ἀπογράφεσθαι of St Luke would refer to the register made in Judæa as a part of the Roman empire. This registration of Judæa must have taken place in the year 1 A.D., the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Augustus, Saturninus being the governor of Syria at the time.

Next as to the actual taxation; we find from Josephus that in A.D. 7 Archelaus fell under the displeasure of the Roman government and was deposed and banished. Judæa ceased to be an independent kingdom and was put under the government of the procurator of Syria. The taxes then most likely were for the first time actually collected: Quirinius succeeded Saturninus as governor of Syria in A.D. 5, so that the actual collection of the tax was made two years after he entered on his office, i.e. in A.D. 7, when Judæa became for the first time an actual Roman province, such taxes as had been formerly paid being most likely divided between the support of the Temple, and the Herod family. Two definite dates are thus given in the passage, first the date 1 A.D. for the enrolment, then the date 7 A.D. for the actual collection of the taxes.

¹ Tac. *Ann.* i. 4. Tac. *Ann.* i. 11, Proferri libellum recitarique jussit [Tiberius]. Opes publicæ continebantur; quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa, aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones, quæ cuncta suâ manu perscripserat Augustus.

RUFUS.

Mark xv. 21; *Romans* xvi. 13.

The name of one of the sons of Simon of Cyrene and the brother of Alexander.

It also occurs as the name of a Roman Christian saluted by St Paul, but the person is not in all probability the same.

The name Rufus was extremely common among the Romans, and the Greek form occurs in the inscriptions, e.g.

ΡΟΥΦΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

on a cameo representing a mythological subject.

SECUNDUS.

Acts xx. 4.

A native of Thessalonica who accompanied St Paul on his third missionary journey. Nothing further is known of him. The name is a common one, occurring both as a Greek and Latin name: and is found in inscriptions on a coin of the period of Augustus,

M. ARRIUS SECUNDUS.

SILVANUS.

1 *Thess.* i. 1; 2 *Thess.* i. 1; 1 *Pet.* v. 12.

The name of a Christian known to St Paul and St Peter, and mentioned by the former as being together with St Timothy one of the authors of the first and second Epistles to the Thessalonians. He is generally supposed to have been the same person as the Silas of the Acts first mentioned in Acts xv. 22 as residing at Antioch, and afterwards as the companion of St Paul on his journey to Jerusalem, on his second missionary journey: he is always called Silas in the Acts, and the name Silvanus is only found in the Epistles, where the form Silas does not occur. If we are to consider them the same persons, which is not definitely stated in the New Testament, Silas must be regarded as a Hebrew name (Shelesh), Latinized as Silvanus. There is however no connection between the meanings of the names Shelesh and Silvanus. The Hebrew word means "the third," hence it has been suggested that Silas was the same as the Tertius men-

tioned as the person by whom the Epistle to the Romans was written. The correct Greek form of Silvanus¹ is Σιλβανός, not, Σιλουανός, as given in the textus receptus of the New Testament. The var. lectio of Σιλβανός occurs in the MSS. Claromontanus and Augiensis of 2 Thess. i. 1 and is most likely the correct reading. The name Silas does not occur as a proper name except in the Acts of the Apostles. Silvanus on the other hand is a common Latin name, first used in Italy as the name of the deity of woods and forests, and afterwards as a common cognomen generally used by the Plautius family.

It remains to be stated that ecclesiastical tradition makes Silas and Silvanus two different persons, representing Silas as afterwards Bishop of Corinth and Silvanus Bishop of Thessalonica, so that it is doubtful in reality whether we are to regard them as the same person, or as two distinct persons, Silas being a Jew of Antioch, and Silvanus a native of Rome, converted to Christianity by St Paul.

SOSIPATER.

Romans xvi. 21.

The name of a Christian residing at Rome. It is found in an inscription as the name of a sculptor of Leridos, but he is not likely to have been the same as the Sosipater of the inscription.

SOSTHENES.

Acts xviii. 17; *1 Cor.* i. 1.

First mentioned as the ruler of the synagogue at Corinth whom the Jews seized and beat before the judgment seat of Gallio. There seems little reason to doubt that he was afterwards converted to Christianity by St Paul, and took part in the composition of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. The name is not an uncommon one; it first occurs as the name of a Macedonian officer of noble birth, who about 280 B.C. commanded the Greek forces in the campaign against Brennus, during the invasion of Greece by the Gauls.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 13.

STACHYS.

Romans xvi. 9.

The name of a Roman Christian.

It is not found elsewhere. or in any classical writer, but is evidently the Greek substantive *στάχυς*, an ear of corn.

STEPHANUS.

Acts vi. 5, 8, 9, vii. 59.

The name of the first of the seven deacons, afterwards the first Christian martyr.

It is an extremely common Greek name¹, first occurring as the name of one of the sons of Thucydides the historian *Θουκυδίδης αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐθρέψε, Μελέαγρον καὶ Στέφανον*.

TERTIUS.

Romans xvi. 22.

The name of a Christian at Corinth employed by St Paul as the scribe of the Epistle to the Romans. It is not found as a Roman name in the masculine gender, but is common as a female name: *Tertia* being often found.

TERTULLUS.

Acts xxiv. 1.

The name of a professional orator employed by the Jews to accuse St Paul. It is a not uncommon name in the imperial period and first occurs in 101 A.D., when Cornutus Tertullus was consul suffectus together with Pliny the younger, who mentions him several times. In Pliny's Epistles it is spelt *Tertulus*², but the form *Tertullus* occurs apparently twice in the *fasti*. Q. Flavius Tertullus was consul suffectus A.D. 162. S. Sulpicius Tertullus was consul A.D. 153. In the Digest xxvii. 9 *Tertullus Scapula* is mentioned as consul A.D. 195. The name is most likely a diminutive of *Tertius* spelt either as *Tertulus* or *Tertullus*; compare the similar forms of *Lucullus* from *Lucius*, *Fabellus* from *Fabius*: compare also the forms *Tertullius* and *Tertullianus*.

TIMON.

Acts vi. 5.

The name of one of the seven deacons. It is a not uncommon

¹ Plato, *Menon* 94.² Pliny *Ep.* v. 15, Cornutus Tertulus.

Greek name and first occurs about 289 B.C. as the name of a philosopher of Phlius, who belonged to the sceptic school.

TIMOTHEUS. *Acts* xvi. 1; *2 Cor.* i. 1; *Philipp.* i. 1; *Coloss.* i. 1; *1 Thess.* i. 1; *2 Thess.* i. 1; *1 Tim.* *2 Tim.* in many places; *Heb.* xiii. 23.

The disciple and companion of St Paul.

He was a native of Lystra of Greek origin, his mother having been a Jewess of the name of Lois, but his father a Greek whose name is not given, but which was most likely Timotheus, the same as his son. The name is an Attic one and first occurs as the father of Conon¹ the celebrated general: the name afterwards often occurs in the literary and artistic history of Greece, and it is interesting to note its relation to Asia Minor, Timotheus the poet having been a native of Miletus, and another Timotheus a sculptor employed in the decorations of the Mausoleum in Caria. It is not improbable that St Timothy, who was a native of the neighbouring province of Lycaonia, may have received his name out of compliment to the sculptor Timotheus, who was a contemporary of Scopas and Praxiteles.

The later history of St Timothy is not known, but tradition makes him Bishop of Ephesus² after the death of St Paul, and states that he suffered martyrdom in the reign of Nero or Domitian³.

TITUS. *2 Cor.* viii. 16, 23; xii. 18; *Gal.* ii. 1; *Titus* i. 4.

The convert and colleague of St Paul.

The earliest mention of Titus is in connection with the council of Jerusalem. We learn from *Acts* xv. 1 that, a question arising at Antioch as to the position of the Gentile converts, St Paul and Barnabas and certain others were sent to consult the Apostles at Jerusalem: from *Galatians* ii. 1 it is evident that Titus was one of the party, though his name is not mentioned in

¹ Thucyd. vii. 52.

² Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 14.

³ Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 11.

the Acts of the Apostles, and as a Gentile and uncircumcised he would seem to have been sent to Jerusalem to represent the Gentile converts, the other members of the party being Jews. The name of Titus afterwards occurs chiefly in connection with the church of Crete, of which he was the founder as well as the organiser. The last mention of him is in the second Epistle to Timothy, where he is stated to have gone to Dalmatia, but tradition asserts that after the death of St Paul he returned to Crete and died there as bishop at an advanced age¹. In this there is nothing improbable, but it does not rest on very early evidence: he may however not unreasonably be supposed to have returned to Crete, as he had been charged by St Paul with the appointment of the bishops in that island. The name Titus, which must not be confused with the gentile name Titius, is a common Roman prænomen apparently of Sabine origin and first occurs in Livy i. 10 where Titus Tatius is mentioned as the king of the Sabines.

TROPHIMUS.

Acts xx. 4, xxi. 29; *2 Tim.* iv. 20.

A native of Ephesus, a convert and companion of St Paul, who accompanied him on his journey from Ephesus to Jerusalem, and is afterwards stated to have been left behind at Miletus, on account of ill health. The name occurs in an inscription of the Roman period, as the name of a Greek sculptor,

T. GRÆ. TROPHIMUS. INO. TAC.

TRYPHÆNA.

Romans xvi. 12.

The name of a female Christian at Rome. It occurs as the name of a Sicilian of the family of the Trebellii, the writer living from B.C. 161—51.

¹ In Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4 he is said to have been the first bishop of the churches in Crete, and the statement is repeated by Theodoret on *1 Tim.* iii. 11. He is said by tradition to have been bishop of Gortyna, where there are still the ruins of an ancient church, which bears the name of Titus. His tomb is shown at Candia the modern capital of Crete. *Zenas de Vita et Actis Titi.* Cave's *Apostolici*, p. 42.

TRYPHOSA.

Rom. xvi. 12.

The name of a female Christian at Rome: it is not found as a proper name, but regularly formed as a participle from *τρυφάω*—*τρυφῶσα* meaning delicate.

TYCHICUS.

Ephes. vi. 21; Titus iii. 12.

The name of a convert and colleague of St Paul. It occurs in the inscriptions of the reign of Claudius, from which it appears that Tychicus was an architect, who held the office of redemptor operum and had built a small temple of Hermes: he is not likely to have been the same person as the Tychicus mentioned by St Paul.

ZENAS.

Tit. iii. 13.

The name of a Christian residing at Crete whom St Paul had asked to be sent to him at Nicopolis.

The name occurs in the inscriptions as that of a sculptor of the third century. The person mentioned by St Paul is not elsewhere alluded to. He is called a *νομικὸς* or lawyer, by which a Jewish scribe or jurist is most likely meant. Gratian suggests that Zenas was a Greek who had studied the Roman law. Either view seems tenable: the word *νομικός*, however, in the New Testament, always means a scribe or scholar of the Jewish law, which is perhaps the best signification here.

There is an apocryphal book called the Acts of Titus bearing the name of Zenas.

Tradition makes him one of the 72 disciples and afterwards Bishop of Decapolis.

PONTIUS PILATE¹. *St Matt.* xxvii. 2, Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι, xviii. 13, 17, (27,) 22, 24, 58, 65; *St Mark* xv. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 12, 15, 43, 44; *St Luke* iii. 1, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, xiii. 1, xxiii. 3, 4, 6, 12, 20, 24, 52; *St John* xviii. 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38, xix. 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 19, 21, 22, 31, 38; *Acts* iv. 27; 1 *Tim.* vi. 13.

The name of the Roman governor of Judæa at the time of the Crucifixion.

The exact Greek equivalent for Procurator is ἐπίτροπος. But he is always called ὁ ἡγεμών in the New Testament, and the same title is used by Josephus: it is doubtful whether it does not correctly express his position, as he was strictly speaking Procurator of Syria and governor of Judæa.

The exact nature of his office is best explained in this way. Syria, which had successively formed part of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires, submitted without resistance to Alexander the Great. On his death, at the division of the kingdom among his generals, Syria and Mesopotamia fell to the lot of Seleucus Nicator and became an independent kingdom.

¹ The following authorities may be quoted:

Tacit. *Annals* xv. 44, Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat.

Josephus *De Bello Jud.* ii. 14, Περμφθεις εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλάτος.

Philo, *Virtut.* 589, Πιλάτος ἦν τῶν ὑπάρχων ἐπίτροπος ἀποδεδεγμένος τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

Lucius Dexter ad Annum Christi 28, Pontius Pilatus procurator Judææ a Tiberio mittitur in Judæam.

It lasted as such from 321 B.C. to 82 B.C. when it passed into the power of Tigranes King of Armenia, and in 64 B.C. on the defeat of Tigranes and Mithridates by Pompeius became a Roman province. Syria, as a Roman province, did not, in fact, correspond to the geographical region known by that name, but was merely a slip of land on the coast, that was divided among a number of petty princes, who however depended upon Rome for their tenure, and could at any time be removed by the Roman authority. In time nearly all of them disappeared, and the territory became incorporated in the Roman empire.

Syria as a Roman province was placed under the rule of a governor, who under various titles, for we find quæstor, proconsul, prætor, and proprætor all used, exercised his jurisdiction at Antioch. He was assisted in his duties by an officer called the procurator, who was especially charged with the collection of the revenue, but in the absence of the governor acted as his deputy and exercised military and civil powers. Among the petty princes who ruled in Syria under the Roman protection the Herod family was the most powerful, their rule extending over the whole of Palestine, until in 6 A.D. Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, who had been left the kingdom of Judæa, fell under the displeasure of Augustus, who deposed and banished him, and placed Judæa under the government of the Procurator of Syria, Judæa from that time ceasing to be an independent kingdom. Coponius was the first Procurator who ruled Judæa as a Roman province: he was succeeded in the same office by Ambivius, Rufus and Gratus, until in 26 A.D. Pontius Pilate succeeded Gratus as Procurator of Syria and governor of the province of Judæa. His term of office continued until A.D. 36, when he was recalled to Rome. Six other Procurators follow, under the last of whom, Gessius Florus, who was appointed A.D. 65, the rebellion of the Jews occurred. No further Procurators were appointed after the capture of Jerusalem by Vespasian, but in the reign of Hadrian Judæa was placed under military government, Julius Severus having been ap-

pointed to command the army of Judæa, and Jerusalem being partly rebuilt under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*. Little is known of the history of Judæa afterwards, except the succession of the bishops of Jerusalem, the names of twenty-three being preserved. In 614 A.D. it was captured by the Persians under Chosroes II., retaken by the Emperor Heraclius, and was finally in 627 captured by the Mahommedan power under the Kaliph Omar, when it disappears from ordinary history. During the period of the Christian Empire it seems to have been governed by the bishops, the military and civil forces of the empire being stationed at Antioch or Cæsarea.

The gentile name of Pontius does not present any difficulty. The Pontia gens was of Samnite origin, incorporated after the conquest of Samnium with the Roman tribes. It is evidently a Samnite name, first occurring as the name of the general who in 331 B.C. defeated the Roman army at the Caudine Forks; "*Imperatorem C. Pontium Herennii filium*," Livy ix. 1. It is afterwards of common occurrence. The following may be taken as examples: Pontius Telesinus was the name of two brothers who successively commanded the Samnite forces in the Social War about 82 B.C. but were killed by the Romans in battle. Pontius Aufidianus, Pontius Cominius, Pontius Fregellanus, Pontius Lupus, Pontius Nigrinus, and Pontius Paulinus also occur. It will be noticed that whenever the name Pontius is used only the nomen gentilicium and the cognomen are given. In one instance only, that of Marcus Pontius Lælianus, who was consul A.D. 163, is the prænomen found. The exact reason for two names only being used is not known; it may have been connected with the Samnite origin of the family, and the name Pontius Pilatus is evidently formed in analogy with the correct classical usage.

With regard to the form employed it is Pilatus only in Josephus, in St Mark, and in St John; Pontius Pilatus in Tacitus, St Matth., St Luke, Acts, and 1 Tim. vi. 13.

It is a nomen and cognomen, the prænomen not being found.

The name Pilatus, though well established as a proper name from Tacitus and Josephus, does not elsewhere occur as a name: it is however found as a Latin participle and adjective in two senses: (1) close pressed, (2) armed with the pilum or heavy spear of the Roman infantry. Any doubt as to which meaning should be taken is removed by a consideration of the quantity of the first syllable, *pīlatus* meaning close pressed, *pīlatus* armed with a spear. The question of the quantity is settled by the following passage in Prudentius:

Pilatus jubet ignorans, I, scriba, tripictis

Digere versiculis, *Apotheosis*, 381,

and that the form was used as an adjective in the Augustan age is evident from the following passage of Virgil:

Procedit legio Ausonidum, pilataque plenis

Agmina se fundunt portis. *Æneid*, xii. 121.

Little is known about the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. In the New Testament, he is only mentioned in relation to the Crucifixion, with the exception of two passages in St Luke, in one of which it is stated that he was ἡγεμὼν or Governor of Judæa¹ at the time of the mission of John the Baptist; in the other he is said to have put certain Galilæans to death while attending a sacrifice². The event is most likely the same as the one mentioned by Josephus³ as occurring in a riot at Jerusalem. Pilate, it is said, had opened the Corban or treasury of the temple, and taken out money which he had used in repairing the aqueducts: a riot occurred among the Jews in consequence, which was put down by Pilate by military force, many of the Jews losing their lives. If the riot occurred in the neighbourhood of the temple, as seems most likely, the blood of the Galilæans would be said quite correctly to have been mingled with the sacrifices, i.e. to have been shed in the court of the temple where the sacrifices were offered, not to have been used as a sacrifice.

A few more details may be gathered from Josephus and Eusebius. According to Josephus the first act of Pilate as

¹ Luke iii. 1.

² Luke xiii. 1.

³ Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* ii. 9. 4.

governor was to send military standards bearing images of the emperor to Jerusalem¹: a violent tumult arose among the Jews in consequence, upon which Pilate assembled them at his judgment seat, and threatened them with military force if they did not disperse: upon which, Josephus says², the Jews threw themselves on the ground before Pilate, and said they would sooner die than disobey their law. Pilate is said to have been so much struck with their steadfastness that he ordered the standards to be removed from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, upon which the tumult ceased.

The Crucifixion is mentioned by Josephus in a well-known passage, and lastly the circumstances are detailed that led to his recall³.

A Samaritan fanatic issued a proclamation calling upon the nation to assemble at Mount Gerizim, in order that he might show them the sacred vessels that Moses had deposited there⁴. The Samaritans, supposing that the story was true, assembled in arms, and a great number of them occupied a village named Tirathaba, intending to make the ascent of Mount Gerizim in arms. Pilate having information about this assembly, sent a large military force against them and dispersed them with great slaughter. Upon this the council of the Samaritans sent a violent complaint to Vitellius the governor of Syria, declaring that they had only assembled for a peaceable purpose. Vitellius in reply ordered Pilate to resign his procuratorship and return to Rome to answer the charge before the emperor. Pilate obeyed, not daring, as Josephus says, to disobey the governor, but upon his arrival at Rome Tiberius had died.

Finally Eusebius⁵ quotes from the Greek Olympiads a statement that Pilate committed suicide at Rome in the reign of Caligula, on account of the numerous misfortunes into which he had fallen.

This ends what may be called the authentic account.

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1.

² *Bello Jud.* ii. 9. 2.

³ *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 3. 1.

⁴ *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 4.

⁵ *H. E.* ii. 7.

Pilate, as might be supposed, often appears as a legendary person. According to one account he was banished to Viennæ in Gaul, where his tomb is supposed to be preserved. According to another he was banished to the shores of Lake Lemán, and committed suicide by plunging into the lake. The peasants still believe that in stormy weather his shape is seen to emerge from the lake, and to repeat the washing of his hands which took place at the Crucifixion.

The only statement of the legendary series that rests upon any authority is one that is found as early as Justin Martyr, that Pilate sent to Tiberius an official report of the Crucifixion, which was preserved in the Roman archives, and could be consulted. Though the mention of an official report to Tiberius with regard to the circumstances of the Crucifixion is found both in Tertullian and Eusebius, great doubt attaches to it, and particularly to the sending of a written report by Pilate. The actual document called the Report of Pilate having been preserved, the story is best discussed in relation to it. A careful examination will convince an impartial enquirer that the document belongs to the series of the Apocryphal Gospels, and that the whole account of an official report by Pilate is most likely fictitious¹.

LIST OF THE ROMAN GOVERNORS AND PRO-CURATORS OF SYRIA.

GOVERNORS OF SYRIA RESIDING AT ANTIOCH.

	B.C.		B.C.
M. Æmilius Scaurus	62—61.	Sextus Julius Cæsar	47—46.
L. Marcius Philippus	61—59.	Q. Cæcilius Bassus	46—44.
Lentulus Marcellinus	59—57.	Quintus Cornificius	44—43.
Gabinus	56—55.	C. Cassius Longinus	43—42.
Crassus	55—53.	L. Decidius Saxa	41—40.
Cassius	53—51.	P. Ventidius Bassus	40—38.
M. Calpurnius Bibulus	51—47.	Caius Sosius	38—35.

¹ Tertull. *Apolog.* 5. Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 2. Tertullian does not mention a report by Pilate but merely states that Tiberius brought the matter before the Senate. The notion of an actual report by Pilate is first found in Eusebius, who did not however consider that it was in existence, as he condemns the *Acta Pilati* as forgeries. See Appendix.

	B.C.		A.D.
L. Munatius Plancus	35—32.	Q. Creticus Silanus ¹	17.
L. Calpurnius Bibulus	31—30.	M. Calpurnius Piso	17—19.
Quintus Didius	30—29.	Cn. Sentius Saturninus	19—22.
M. Valerius Messala	29—25.	L. Pomponius Flaccus	22—33.
Varro	25—24.	Lucius Vitellius	35—39.
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	22—20.	P. Petronius	39—42.
Marcus Tullius	20—19.	Vibius Marsus	42—48.
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	15—	C. Cassius Longinus	48—51.
Marcus Tullius	11—7.	Domitius Corbulo	60—63.
C. Sentius Saturninus	7—3.	Cincius	63—65.
P. Quintilius Varus B.C. 3—A.D. 5.		C. Cestius Gallus	65—67.
P. Sulpicius Quirinius	5.	P. Licinius Mucianus	67—69.

PROCURATORS OF SYRIA AND GOVERNORS OF JUDÆA
RESIDING AT CÆSAREA.

	A.D.		A.D.
Sabinus	3.	Cuspius Fadus	45.
Coponius	6.	Ventidius Cumanus	48.
M. Ambivius	10.	Felix	49.
Annius Rufus	11.	Porcius Festus	60.
Valerius Gratus	14.	Albinus	62.
Pontius Pilatus	26.	Gessius Florus	65.
Marcellus	37.		

During the procuratorship of Gessius Florus the revolt of the Jews occurred, and no further procurators were appointed.

¹ His full name seems to have been Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Creticus Silanus. Cf. Dion Cass. lv. 30. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 4, 43.

INSCRIPTIONS.

One only occurs, at Athens.

Acts xvii. 23.

Διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν εὗρον
καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο ἌΓΝΩΣΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ.

For as I passed through the town, and beheld your devotions, I found also an altar on which had been written, To an Unknown Deity.

That this inscription was at Munychia and not in the Agora, as is sometimes supposed, is evident from Pausanias, who states in his description of Athens that he found at the port of Munychia altars to the deities called Unknown.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀθηναίους ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Μουνυχίᾳ λιμὴν, καὶ Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Φαλήρῳ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ Δήμητρος ἱερόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς ἐστι καὶ Διὸς ἀπωτέρω, βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων καὶ παίδων τῶν Θεσέως καὶ Φαλήρου· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν Φάληρον Ἀθηναῖοι πλεῦσαι μετὰ Ἰάσονός φασιν εἰς Κόλχους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ ἥρωος.

PAUSANIAS, *Descriptio Græciæ, Attica*, I. 1. 4.

The inscription is referred to by Jerome (Titus i. 10), though he does not cite it accurately, and is mentioned in the following passages: Philostrat. *Vit. Apollonii*, v. 3; Lucian *Philopatris* 9, νῆ τὸν ἄγνωστον ἐν Ἀθήναις; also in the same dialogue, 29,

Κἀγώ, ᾧ Κριτία, ταῦτα καταλείπω τοῖς τέκνοις, ὥς ἴδωσι Βαβυλῶνα ὀλλυμένην, Αἴγυπτον δουλουμένην, τὰ τῶν Περσῶν

τέκνα δούλειον ἡμαρ ἄγοντα, τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν Σκυθῶν παυομένας, εἴθ' οὖν καὶ ἀνακοπτομένας. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄγνωστον ἐφευρόντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐκτείναντες τούτῳ εὐχαριστήσομεν ὡς καταξιωθέντες τοιούτου κράτους ὑπήκοοι γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ληρεῖν ἑάσωμεν ἄρκεσθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν τὸ οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν.

The genuineness of the *Philopatris* as a work of Lucian has been disputed. But it cannot well be later than the fourth century, and is possibly a work of the period of Julian, i.e. about 230 A.D., so that it is evident that an altar with this inscription was then standing at Athens: the date of Lucian and Pausanias, who were contemporaries, is about 170 A.D.

The actual meaning of the term, "to an unknown God," seems as follows: It was considered highly important, particularly to guard against pestilence, that no local deity or hero should be omitted from the worship of the place; hence the names of the known deities were first inscribed on altars, afterwards the names of the heroes; then, to avoid any charge of negligence, altars were put up to the unknown deities, who might be supposed to protect the place. A large number of altars were dedicated at Athens about 600 B.C. by the advice of Epimenides to stop, and prevent a return of, a pestilence. This would account for the number mentioned by Pausanias, and the altar mentioned by St Paul may have been put up for a similar purpose.

No inscriptions of the kind have been discovered, but inscriptions in honour of the known deities are common, e.g. one discovered in 1574 at Rome: on the base of a statue.

SEMONI

SANCO.

DEO FIDIO.

SACRUM.

The ancient altars do not seem in many cases to have had

inscriptions on them to the deities to whom they were consecrated: hence the inscription mentioned by St Paul is a little remarkable. It may however have been the practice at Athens to place inscriptions on the altars, as we find in Diogenes Laertius¹ the expression *βωμοὶ ἀνώνυμοι* of some altars at Athens, which seems to imply that the other altars had inscriptions on them of the deities to whom they were dedicated.

With regard to the expression in *v.* 22 *κατὰ πάντα ὥς δεισιδαιμονεστέροις ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ*, "I observe you in all respects to be too superstitious," this would be an instance of the classical *δεισιδαιμονία* which is generally used in a bad sense for superstition and defined by Theophrastus as cowardice with regard to religious matters. The putting up of altars to the unknown as well as to the known deities would be an instance of *δεισιδαιμονία* or too great anxiety to propitiate the deities:

ἀμέλει ἡ δεισιδαιμονία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὃ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τοιοῦτός τις οἶος ἐπὶ κρήνῃ ἀπονιδάμενος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ περιβράνταμενος ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ δάφνην εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβὼν οὕτω τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν· καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰς ὑπερδράμῃ γαλῇ, μὴ πρότερον πορευθῆναι ἕως διεξέλθῃ τις, ἢ λίθους τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαβάλλῃ· καὶ εἰς ἴδῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, εἰς μὲν παρείαν, Σαβάξιον καλεῖν, εἰς δὲ ἱερὸν, ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν† εὐθὺς ἰδρῦσασθαι· καὶ τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παριῶν ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου ἔλαιον καταχεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ γόνατα πεσὼν καὶ πρόσκυνήσας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· καὶ εἰς μὴς θύλακον ἀλφίτων διαφάγη, πρὸς τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἔλθων ἐρωτᾷ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· καὶ εἰς ἀποκρίνηται αὐτῷ, ἐκδοῦναι τῷ σκυτοδέψῃ ἐπιρράψαι, μὴ προσέχειν τούτοις, ἀλλ' ἀποτραπεῖς ἐκθύσασθαι· καὶ πυκνὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καθᾶραι δεινὸς, Ἑκάτης φάσκων ἐπαγωγὴν γεγενέαι· κἂν γλαυξ βαδίζοντος αὐτοῦ ταράττηται, εἴπας, Ἐθηνᾶ κρείττων, οὕτω παρελθεῖν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπιβῆναι μνήματι οὔτε ἐπὶ νεκρὸν οὔτ' ἐπὶ λεχὼ ἔλθεῖν ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ μαινεσθαι συμφέρον αὐτῷ φῆσαι εἶναι· καὶ ταῖς τετράσι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐβδομάσι προστάξας οἶνον ἔψειν τοῖς ἔνδον ἐξέλθων ἀγοράσαι μυρσίνας, λιβανωτὸν, μίλακα, καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἴσω στεφανοῦν τοὺς Ἑρμαφροδίτους ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν· καὶ ὅταν ἐνύπνιον ἴδῃ, πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὄνειροκρίτας, πρὸς τοὺς μάντεις, πρὸς τοὺς ὀρνιθοσκόπους ἐρωτήσων τίς θεῷ ἢ θεᾷ εὔχεσθαι δεῖ· καὶ τελεσθισόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστὰς κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῆς γυναῖκος, εἰς δὲ μὴ σχολάζῃ ἡ γυνὴ, μετὰ τῆς τίτθης καὶ τῶν παιδίων. Theophrastus xxviii.

¹ Diog. Laert. *Vit. Epimen.*

OFFICIAL TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS.

*ἀγοραῖος.**Acts xix. 38.*

ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται, καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν. The substantive *ἡμέραι* is required to complete the sense, which is, "court days are kept, and there are magistrates." *ἡ ἀγοραῖος* is used in exactly the same sense in Strabo 932 C for "a court day."

*ἀνθύπατος*¹.*Acts xiii. 7, 8, 12, xix. 38.*

σὺν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Πάνλῳ.

ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται, καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν.

ἀνθύπατος is certainly proconsul, and not used correctly in any other sense.

ὑπατος, which is an alternative form of *ὑπέρτατος*, means literally highest, like the Latin *supremus*; it was the term adopted by the Greek writers to translate the Latin title Consul, and first occurs in Polybius.

The term proconsul or pro consule was rendered either by *ἀντὶ ὑπάτου* or by the single word *ἀνθύπατος*². That it is applied correctly in the New Testament, where however it only occurs in two places, can be easily shown.

The origin of the office of proconsul was as follows. After serving at Rome for a year as consul, it was customary to continue in office for a second year as proconsul. As the proconsul had not the military *imperium* within the limits of Rome, he was usually appointed to a command in the provinces, and in process of time persons were appointed as proconsuls, i.e. as governors of the provinces, without having previously served in the office of consul.

Thus the exact meaning of the term is, governor of a province,

¹ The verbal form is used in Acts xviii. 12, *Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπατεύοντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας.*

² Polyb. xxi. 8. 11. The full title was *στρατηγὸς ὑπατος*, Polyb. i. 52, but afterwards *ὑπατος* alone.

and in that sense it is always used in the New Testament. In Acts xiii. it is quite correctly applied to Sergius Paulus, the Roman governor of Cyprus. This island, which had been previously an independent kingdom, was added to the Roman empire in B.C. 58¹. It was at first annexed to the province of Cilicia, and governed by a quæstor²; in B.C. 27 it became an independent province, and was at first in the division of the provinces assigned to the emperor³, but in B.C. 22 it was made one of the provinces of the senate, and according to the custom of the time the governor received the title of Proconsul⁴; the governors of the senatorial provinces after the establishment of the empire being called Pro Consules or Præsides, the governors of the imperial provinces, Prætors or Legati.

In the second passage, Acts xix. 38, the use of the term proconsul is equally correct. Asia, which came to the Romans in B.C. 122 by the bequest of Attalus, the king of Pergamus, was always a senatorial province, and the governors of the various districts were called proconsuls. Thus Cicero was proconsul of Cilicia, B.C. 51—50. The whole force of the expression used is as follows, "Court days are kept, and there are such officers as the proconsuls." For judicial purposes every province was divided into a certain number of *conventus*, ἀγοραί, where all suits were taken to be decided. Ephesus was certainly one of these *conventus*, and it was the duty of the proconsul to see that judges were appointed and proper arrangements made for the decision of the cases which were brought into the town, or metropolis as it was called, to be heard and adjudicated.

Ἀσιάρχης.

Acts xix. 31.

τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεκάλουν μὴ δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον.

The Asiarch was the highest religious officer in Asia under the Romans, who was especially charged with the superinten-

¹ Vell. Paterc. ii. 45.

² Cicero *ad Fam.* i. 7; *ad Att.* vi. 2.

³ Dion Cass. liii. 12.

⁴ Dion Cassius liv. 4.

dence of the public games¹. The word is found in the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, where the Asiarch Philip is represented as presiding in the amphitheatre². The correctness of the mention of the meeting of the Asiarchs in the account of the riot at Ephesus, which was partly religious and partly a tumultuous assembly in the theatre, is thus sufficiently shown, as they would be summoned partly as the superintendents of the public games, and partly as having charge of the worship of Artemis.

Βασιλεύς.

A word of frequent occurrence in the New Testament, and used both literally and metaphorically. In its literal sense it is only when applied to living persons used of the petty kings who lived under the protection of the Roman power, and had in most instances received from the Emperor the title they used. It is applied in the New Testament only to Herod the Great, to his son Herod Antipas, to his great-grandson Herod Agrippa II., and also to Aretas king of Arabia Petræa. In its wider sense

(1) of the Supreme Being, *Matt.* xxv. 34.

(2) of any independent ruler, *Matt.* xvii. 25.

(3) of a prophetic leader, *John* xviii. 39.

γραμματεὺς.

Acts xix. 35.

The keeper of the archives or public records at Ephesus. It was an ordinary Greek office, found in every town of importance, and is first mentioned by Thucydides, vii. 10,

ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς πόλεως παρελθὼν ἀνέγνω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

The other official expressions employed are ἡγεμονία, ἡγεμών, and ἡγεμονεύων; they are used quite generally for any governor or his tenure of office, and not in a technical sense. Thus

¹ Strabo 929.

² ἐπεβόων καὶ ἡρώτων τὸν Ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον ἵνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ λέοντα ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ἐπειδὴ πεπληρωκέναι τὰ κυνηγέσια. *Martyr.* *Polyc.* c. 12.

ἡγεμονία is used in Luke iii. 1 of the reign of Tiberius; ἡγεμών of Pontius Pilate, Felix and Festus, though, the office being Procurator of Syria, ἐπίτροπος would have been the exact term. From a passage in 1 Peter ii. 14, ἡγεμών is apparently used for any lawful ruler, cf. Luke xxi. 12, ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας.

It is worthy of notice that the word Consul, ὕπατος, or Prætor, ἐξαπέλεκτος, does not occur in the New Testament. No consul could command in a province, consequently Syria was never governed by an officer of that name. It seems, however, to have been occasionally governed by a Prætor or Pro-Prætor, but in the period covered by the New Testament history the title legatus¹ was generally used, except in A.D. 22, when Pomponius Flaccus was governor with the title of Pro-Prætor. The Latin term Prætor appears however in the form Πραιτώριον which is used

- (1) of the judgment-hall of Pilate,

Matt. xxvii. 27; *John* xviii. 28, 33, xix. 9.

- (2) of the Palace of Herod,

Acts xxiii. 35, ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ τοῦ Ἡρώδου,

- (3) of the Palace of the Cæsars at Rome,

Phil. i. 13, ἐν ὧν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ.

ἐπαρχία.

Acts xxiii. 34, xxv. 1.

A province, used in the first passage of Cilicia, in the second of Judæa.

The word corresponds to the Roman term provincia, and is used as its equivalent, Plutarch, *Julius Cæsar*, 4.

τετράρχης.

Matt. xiv. 1; *Luke* iii. 19, ix. 7; *Acts* xiii. 1.

The titles of king and tetrarch were both used by the petty sovereigns in Asia, who held their dominions at the pleasure

¹ The exact Greek equivalent for legatus is ἀντιστράτηγος, Polyb. xv. 4. 1. It is not found in the New Testament, the general term ἡγεμονεύω being used, Luke ii. 2, cf. iii. 1: no Prætor had been governor of Syria since the time of Cæcilius Bassus, B.C. 46, and no Proconsul since the time of Cassius Longinus, B.C. 43.

of the Roman power, and were generally celebrated for their immense wealth. The term tetrarch¹, which originally meant the ruler of a fourth part of a kingdom, and seems first to have been used in Thessaly, which was divided into four tetrarchies, was used rather largely in the Roman Empire to signify a dependent ruler who was not allowed to assume the title of king².

For its earliest use as ruler of one of the four divisions of Thessaly cf. Euripid. *Alcestis* 1154:

ἀστοῖς δὲ πάσῃ τ' ἐννέπω τετραρχία
χοροὺς ἐπ' ἐσθλαῖς συμφοραῖσιν ἰστάναι.

Also Strabo ix. 5. 430. The first person who used the title as a single ruler was Deiotarus, the tetrarch of Gallo-Græcia³, who afterwards received the title of king from the senate.

The following military terms occur:

ἐκατόνταρχος. Centurion. Evidently the same term as *κεν-
τυρίων*, the Latinized form, which is used by St Mark.

χιλίαρχος. Tribunus militum.

λεγεών. Legio, used only metaphorically.

σπεῖρα. Cohort or detachment. *σπεῖρα Ἰταλική* and *σπεῖρα
Σεβαστή* are also found, apparently corresponding to the terms Cohors Italica and Cohors Augusta, or perhaps to the terms Legio Italica and Legio Augusta, though there is a little doubt whether the legion or a detachment of it is meant. See Article "Cornelius."

¹ Cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. iii. 12,

modo reges atque tetrarchas,
Omnia magna loquens.

² Cf. St Luke iii. 1 as a passage in the New Testament where a number of official titles are used.

³ Cf. Livy, *Epitom.* xciv., Deiotarus, Gallo-Græciæ tetrarches.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE CLASSICAL WRITERS.

Acts xvii. 28.

ὥς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασι, Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ
γένος ἐσμέν.

As certain also of the poets among you have said, For we also are his
offspring.

The use of the plural, "poets," would imply that the quota-
tion occurred in more than one Greek writer: it is found in fact
both in Aratus and Cleanthes.

Aratus, who lived about 270 B.C., was a native of Cilicia, and
thus a fellow-countryman of St Paul, whose acquaintance with
his works is thus easily explained. According to one authority
he was a citizen of Tarsus and a fellow-townsmen of the Apostle,
but most authorities make him a native of Soli, afterwards
called Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia. He was the author of various
works both in prose and verse, two of which survive, the *Phæ-
nomena* and the *Diosemeia*. The passage quoted is from the
proem to the *Phænomena*, which thus commences:

ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἄνδρες ἐώμεν
ἄρρητον...μεσται δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγναι
πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραὶ, μεστή δὲ θάλασσα
καὶ λιμένες, πάντα δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες,
τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν· ὁ δ' ἥπιος ἀνθρώποισι
δέξια σημαίνει, λαοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει.

The *Phænomena* of Aratus was a work of great popularity
in antiquity, and was several times translated into Latin; first
by Cicero, of whose translation only fragments remain, next by
Germanicus and Festus Avienus.

Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 708 ἐν δὲ τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀπογραφόμενος Ἄρατος ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα. The quotation of the lines is not mentioned.

The following parallel passages may be quoted :

Ab Jove musarum primordia, sicut in Arati carmine orti sumus.—CICERO, *De Leg.* xi. 3.

Ab Jove principium magno deduxit Aratus
Carminis, at nobis genitor tu maximus auctor,
Te veneror, tibi sacra fero, doctique laboris
Primitias.

From the Translation of Germanicus.

Carminum inceptor mihi Jupiter.

From the Translation of Festus Avienus.

Compare also Theocritus xvii. 1 :

ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι.

Theocritus was a contemporary of Aratus, and dedicated his sixth idyl to him, so that the exact authorship of the first part of the line cannot be ascertained¹; it is most likely by Aratus.

Numerous other imitations of the passage are found, e.g. Virgil, *Eclog.* iii. 60 :

Ab Jove principium Musae: Jovis omnia plena:
Ille colit terras.

Ovid, *M.* x. 148 :

Ab Jove, Musa parens, cedunt Jovis omnia regno.

The passage in Aratus was thus evidently one of much celebrity, and its author being a native of Cilicia, it would be extremely likely that St Paul was acquainted with it, and appealed to it as likely to be generally known. It seems to have been

¹ The actual sentiment in this line is not original but may be traced to previous writers; cf. Pindar *Nem.* ii. 3 ἀρχονται Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου; compare also the Homeric expression πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

again referred to in his discourse at Lystra (Acts xiv. 15—17), where, though Aratus is not mentioned, the sentiments are parallel to *Phænom.* i. 10.

The other writer referred to under the plural form *τινες* is apparently Cleanthes, in whose *Hymn to Jupiter*, written about the same period of the Ptolemies, 300 B.C., the passage occurs,

ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν,

Hymn to Jupiter, v.

The exact expression does not elsewhere occur, but sentiments similar to those of the Apostle occur in Sophocles and the dramatists, so that the speech may be supposed to have been composed in a form intelligible to Gentile rather than Jewish persons, and to the former no doubt it was addressed.

A remarkable support to the genuineness of the speeches of St Paul, and the correctness with which they have been preserved in substance, will be found by anyone who will compare the speeches delivered to a Gentile audience at Lystra and Athens, with those addressed to Jews at Jerusalem or Rome.

Titus i, 12.

εἰπέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης, Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται,
κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

The writer quoted is evidently Epimenides, who is the only person who answers to the description.

Epimenides was a native of Phæstus in Crete, and his real position was that of a soothsayer or prophet. His period is fixed by the purification of Athens, to accomplish which he was summoned from Crete in 596 B.C. Numerous works existed in antiquity ascribed to Epimenides, both in prose and verse: they have however all perished, and no quotation or fragments remain, with the exception of the line quoted in the Epistle of Titus, which most likely comes from the *Καθαρμοί*, a poem of a religious kind written by Epimenides.

A parallel passage is found in the *Hymn to Jupiter* by Callimachus, where the expression Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται (v. 8) occurs. Theodoret seems to have supposed that Callimachus was the writer actually quoted by St Paul, but the expression only suits Epimenides¹.

I Cor. xv. 33.

μὴ πλανᾶσθε. φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὀμιλῖαι κακαί.

The line occurred in the *Thais* of Menander: it is doubtful however whether it is quoted as an Iambic line, as all the MSS. and quotations in the ecclesiastical writers give the passage as above, the fragment of Menander being

φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρῆσθ' ὀμιλῖαι κακαί.

It was most likely used by St Paul as a familiar sentiment likely to be understood at Corinth².

These are all the quotations from the classical writers found in the New Testament: it will be remarked that they all occur in the writings of St Paul, and that the names of the authors are not given.

¹ The following passage from Jerome gives the correct source of the quotation: "integer versus de Epimenide poeta ab Apostolo sumptus est, et ejus Callimacho in suo poemate usus est exordio."

The poems of Epimenides which had the following titles, *Χρησμοί*, *Καθαρμοί*, *Γένεσις*, *Θεογονία*, have all disappeared. Various prose works were attributed to him, but they were most likely spurious. A letter to Solon has been preserved by Diogenes Laertius, but it is certainly not genuine. There seems no reason to doubt the reality of Epimenides as a writer; though his story has been coloured by mythical details.

For the use of the title *προφήτης* instead of poet, compare Cicero *de Div.* i. 18 (34) qui concitatione quadam animi aut soluto liberoque motu futura praesentiant ut Bacis Bæotius, ut Epimenides Cres. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 14. 350 Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρήτα, ὃν Ἑλληνικὸν οἶδε προφήτην, οὗ μέμνηται ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστολῇ, λέγων οὕτως, εἰπέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδίου προφήτης, Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται κακὰ θηρία γαστέρες ἀργαί· καὶ ἡ μαρτύρια αὕτη ἔστιν ἀληθής.

² Clement of Alexandria by mistake ascribes the line to a tragic writer, Ἰαμβεῖω συγκέχρηται τραγικῶς, *Strom.* i. 14; the line is found among the fragments of Menander.

The following Latinisms or expressions imitated from the Latin occur in the New Testament and may be used as evidence that the book was composed while Judæa was a Roman province.

ST MATTHEW.

ἀσσάριον, δηνάριον, Ἑρωδιανοί, κῆνσος, κοδράντης, κουστωδία, λεγεών, μίλιον, πραιτώριον.

These correspond to the following Latin words: assarium, denarius, Herodian, census, quadrans, custodia, legio, miliarium, prætorium.

ST MARK.

Ἑρωδιανοί, ξέστης, κεντυρίων, κῆνσος, κοδράντης, πραιτώριον, σπεκουλάτωρ, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι.

These, in addition to those found in St Matthew, correspond to the following Latin words: sextarius, centurio, speculator, satisfacere.

ST LUKE.

ἀσσάριον, δηνάριον, σουδάριον. These correspond to assarium, denarius, sudarium.

St Luke, as is known, generally uses the classical Greek expressions, not the Latinized forms, as his style is purer than that of the other Evangelists; thus he uses ἑκατοντάρχης for centurio, φόρος for census.

ACTS.

κολωνία, Λιβερτῖνοι, πραιτώριον, σικάριος, σιμικίνθιον, σουδάριον, ταβέρνη, τὸ ἱκανὸν λαβεῖν, φόρον.

These correspond to the following Latin words: colonia, Libertini, sicarius, semicinctium, taberna, satisfactionem accipere, forum.

ST JOHN.

λέντιον, πραιτώριον, σουδάριον, τίτλος.

These correspond to the Latin words: linteum, titulus.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

No Latinism occurs.

This is worthy of notice, as some might have been expected; they are however carefully avoided.

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

μάκελλον. x. 25.

A Latinism for macellum.

In the other epistles no Latinisms occur.

APPENDIX.

THE EARLIEST QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT.

MENTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE CLASSICAL WRITERS.

THE CHIEF AUTHORITIES USED IN THE FORMATION OF THE
CANON.

SPECIMENS OF SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS CLAIMING TO BE OF THE
FIRST CENTURY.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT IN WRITERS OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

I. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, i. 13, about 90 A.D.

Μάλιστα μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν. Οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν· “ἐλεείτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν· ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν· ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.”

Matthew vi. 14, vii. 1, 2; Luke vi. 31, 37, 38 are quoted, not however verbally, but the general sense of the passages is given. They are not quoted by the name of any writer, but merely as “the words of the Lord Jesus,” and certainly give the sense of the passages in the Sermon on the Mount from which they are taken.

2. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, i. 46.

Μνήσθητε τῶν λόγων Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. Εἶπε γάρ· “οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη, ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι· κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ, περιτεθῆναι μύλον, καὶ καταποντισθῆναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι.”

Matthew xxvi. 24, xviii. 6; Mark ix. 42; Luke xvii. 2 are all quoted as “the words of Jesus our Lord”; the exact sentences do not occur in any of the Gospels, but the general sense is given quite accurately.

3. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, i. 47.

Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραφεν; Ἐπ’ ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν, περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι. Ἀλλ’ ἡ πρόσκλισις ἐκείνη ἤττονα ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν· προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις, καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμαμένῳ παρ’ αὐτοῖς.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. i. 12, is the passage alluded to. This is the first quotation of any book of the New Testament with

the name of the author. It is cited as the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. The use of the word εὐαγγελίου or gospel for the teaching of the Apostle is worthy of notice.

4. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 2.

“Ο δὲ εἶπεν· “ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου, μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα”· ἐπεὶ ἔρημος ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν, νυνὶ δὲ πιστεύσαντες πλείονες ἐγενόμεθα τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν Θεόν. Καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει· “ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς.”

Matthew ix. 13; Luke v. 32. This is the first exact quotation from the New Testament. The passage in St Matthew is οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλ’ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν.

The passage in St Luke is as follows: οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν.

The passage is cited as γραφὴ or Scripture. This is the first instance of the term being applied to a book of the New Testament by the patristic writers. It is necessary to mention that the genuineness of the Second Epistle of Clement was doubted in the Early Church, while the genuineness of the First Epistle was universally admitted; hence the quotations in the Second Epistle must be read with some caution. The discovery of a complete manuscript of the Epistle at Constantinople, renders it necessary to accept the Epistle as a work of the Apostolic period, the name St Clement as the author being allowed to be doubtful.

5. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 3.

Λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτός· “τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου.”

St Matthew x. 32 is quoted, not however exactly.

6. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 4.

Λέγει γάρ· “οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, κύριε, κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλὰ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην.”

St Matthew vii. 21 is quoted in substance.

7. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 6.

Λέγει δὲ ὁ κύριος· “οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσεὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν.” Ἐὰν ἡμεῖς θέλωμεν καὶ Θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ, ἀσύμφορον ἡμῖν ἐστίν.

“Τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, ἐάν τις τὸν ὅλον κόσμον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ;”

St Matthew vi. 24 is quoted in the first part of the sentence, St Matthew xvi. 26 in the conclusion.

8. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 7.

“Ὡστε οὖν, ἀδελφοί μου, ἀγωνισώμεθα, εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγὼν, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέουσιν πολλοὶ, ἀλλ’ οὐ πάντες στεφανοῦνται, εἰ μὴ οἱ πολλὰ κοπιάσαντες καὶ καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι. Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀγωνισώμεθα, ἵνα πάντες στεφανωθώμεν.

1 Cor. ix. 24 is alluded to, but not mentioned as being quoted.

9. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 8.

Λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· “εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν· ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἔστιν.”

St Luke xvi. 10; St Matthew xxv. 21 are quoted. This is the first instance in which the Gospels are quoted by the title of εὐαγγέλιον.

10. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 9.

Καὶ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· “ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου.”

St Matthew xii. 50 is quoted.

11. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 11.

Πιστὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδιδόναι ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. Ἐὰν οὖν ποιήσωμεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐναντίον τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰσέξομεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ληψόμεθα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, “ὡς οὓς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς ἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη.”

1 Cor. ii. 9 is quoted. The passage quoted from the Old Testament cannot be discovered in the Septuagint Version; it occurs however, as was pointed out by Jerome, in the Hebrew text of Isaiah lxiv. 4. Jerome *Ep.* lvii. [c. 1].

12. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 13.

“Ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωσι παρ’ ἡμῶν ὅτι λέγει ὁ θεὸς, οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς

μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ταῦτα ὅταν ἀκούσωσι θαυμάζουσι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος.

St Luke vi. 32 is quoted.

13. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 14.

Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα κυρίου, ἐσόμεθα ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς λεγούσης, ἐγενήθη ὁ οἶκός μου σπήλαιον ληστῶν.

St Matthew xxi. 13 is quoted.

14. ST CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS, ii. 16.

Ἀγάπη δὲ καλύπτει πλήθος ἁμαρτιῶν, προσευχὴ δὲ ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται.

1 Peter iv. 8 is quoted.

There are thus fourteen quotations from the New Testament in writers of the first century, the Epistle of Clement falling about 90 A.D. and possibly earlier.

The following books are quoted: The Gospels of St Matthew; St Mark; St Luke; The 1st Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians; the 1st Epistle of St Peter.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT IN WRITERS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

1. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, about 120 A.D.

Cap. iv. Ὅταν βλέπητε μετὰ τηλικαῦτα σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα τὰ γεγρονότα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαταλελείφθαι αὐτούς, προσέχωμεν, μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὐρεθῶμεν.

The passage, quoted twice, occurs in St Matthew xx. 16, xxii. 14. The γέγραπται is worthy of notice as showing that the Gospels at a very early period were considered as a part of Scripture. The date of the Epistle is most likely the commencement of the second century.

2. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, cap. xii.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν μέλλουσιν λέγειν, ὅτι Χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυὶδ ἐστίν, αὐτὸς προφητεύει Δαυὶδ, φοβούμενος καὶ συνίων τὴν πλάνην τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν. Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον

τῶν ποδῶν σου. καὶ πάλιν λέγει οὕτως Ἡσαΐας Εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ, οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ, ἐπακούσαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη, καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλείων διαρρήξω. Ἴδε πῶς Δαυὶδ λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον, καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ λέγει.

St Matt. xxii. 42 is evidently alluded to though not actually quoted.

3. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, cap. xiii.

Τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστεύσας ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραάμ, πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας τῷ κυρίῳ.

Romans iv. 11 is quoted.

4. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, cap. xix.

Πάντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, γνώσῃ δέ, τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.

St Luke vi. 30 is quoted.

QUOTATIONS IN THE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS.

1. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, cap. ii.

Φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ἡ ὄφίς ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν, καὶ ἀκέραιος ὡς ἡ περιστερά.

St Matthew x. 16 is quoted.

2. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP, cap. v.

Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε· μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιοῦ. Ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου προσλάλει, ἀγαπᾶν τὸν κύριον, καὶ τοῖς συμβίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι. Ὅμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παράγγελλε ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους ὡς ὁ κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ κυρίου τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενέτω. Ἐὰν καυχῆσθαι, ἀπώλετο· καὶ ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται.

Ephesians v. 25 is alluded to but not quoted exactly.

3. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, cap. x., about 110 A.D.

Ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε.

1 Thess. v. 17 is quoted.

4. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, cap. xiv.

Οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀμαρτάνει, οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖ.
Φανερόν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ· οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι
Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι, δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὀφθήσονται.

St Matthew xii. 33 is alluded to, though not quoted exactly.

5. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE EPHESIANS, cap. xviii.

Ποῦ σοφός; Ποῦ συζητητής; Ποῦ καύχησης τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν;
1 Cor. i. 20 is quoted.

6. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, cap. iii.

Τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια.

2 Cor. iv. 18 is quoted.

The genuineness of the quotation has been disputed, but without much reason; it is found in all MSS. of the Greek text both of the longer and shorter recensions, and seems required to complete the sense. Its omission in the abbreviated Syriac version does not seem of much importance.

7. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, cap. vi.

Καλόν μοι ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς
γῆς. Τί γὰρ ὀφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν κερδήσῃ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον, τὴν δὲ
ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ;

St Matthew xvi. 26 is quoted.

The genuineness of the quotation has been attacked chiefly on the grounds that it is not found in the versions or excerpts; it occurs however both in the shorter and longer recensions of the Greek, and harmonises with the subject-matter of the chapter in Ignatius.

8. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS, cap. ix.

Ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἅγιός εἰμι, ὧν ἔσχατος
αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκτρωμα. Ἄλλ' ἡλέημαί τις εἶναι, ἐὰν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

1 Cor. xv. 8 is alluded to, though not quoted exactly.

9. THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNÆANS, cap. i.

Πεπληροφορημένους εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν Θεοῦ, γεγενημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου, βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί.

St Matthew iii. 15 οὕτως γὰρ πρόπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην is evidently alluded to. The remainder of the passage, though not an actual quotation, is most likely derived from the books of the New Testament. The passage in Ignatius is worthy of notice as containing the first appeal to a creed.

QUOTATIONS IN THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.

I. THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, cap. i. and ii., about 110 A.D.

Εἰδότες, ὅτι “χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων¹,” ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. “Διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας ὑμῶν²” “δουλεύσατε τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν φόβῳ” καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην, “πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν³” καὶ θρόνον ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· ᾧ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἐπίγεια⁴. ᾧ πᾶσα πνοὴ λατρεῖ· ὅς ἔρχεται κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν· οὗ τὸ αἶμα ἐκζητήσῃ ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν⁵ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερῆ⁶, ἐὰν ποιῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα καὶ πορευόμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἠγάπησεν, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ἀδικίας⁷, πλεονεξίας, φιλαργυρίας, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδομαρτυρίας· “μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ, ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας,” ἢ γρόνθον ἀντὶ γρόνθου, ἢ κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας· μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ κύριος διδάσκων· “μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθήτε⁸· ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεεῖτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῇτε· ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν¹⁰· καὶ ὅτι “μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ¹¹.”

¹ Ephes. ii. 8.⁴ Philipp. ii. 10.⁶ 1 Pet. iii. 9.² 1 Pet. i. 13.⁵ Acts xvii. 31.⁷ Matt. vii. 1.

Ephes. vi. 14.

⁸ 1 Cor. vi. 14.

Luke vi. 37.

Ps. lxxvi. 11.

⁹ 2 Cor. iv. 14.¹⁰ Matt. vii. 2.³ 1 Pet. i. 21, Ephes. i. 20.¹¹ Rom. viii. 11.¹² 1 Thess. v. 22.¹³ Matt. v. 3, 10.

A large number of passages in the New Testament are alluded to in the above passage. They are not however mentioned as quotations with the exception of the latter part, where the sermon on the mount is quoted as “what the Lord said when teaching.”

The first exact quotation occurs in St Polycarp, St Matthew vii. 1

μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθήτε, "judge not that ye be not judged," being quoted as we find it in the existing text.

The passage that follows is from the Sermon on the Mount, and St Matthew vii. 1; St Luke vi. 37; St Matthew vii. 2, v. 3, 10 are quoted.

2. THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, cap. iii.

Οὕτε γὰρ ἐγὼ, οὕτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθήσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου· ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν, κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον· ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς, εἰς ἃς ἐὰν ἐγκύπτῃτε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομῆσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν, "ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν¹," ἐπακολουθούσης τῆς ἐλπίδος, προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης, τῆς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πλησίον. Ἐὰν γάρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς ἧ, πεπλήρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπην μακράν ἐστι πάσης ἁμαρτίας.

¹ Gal. iv. 26.

The first exact quotation from the Epistles of St Paul accompanied by a mention of his name occurs in this passage, Galatians iv. 26 being quoted exactly.

3. THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, cap. iv.

"Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία¹." Εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι "οὐδὲν εἰσηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν²," ὀπισθώμεθα τοῖς ὁπλοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ διδάξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτον, πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ κυρίου.

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 10. ² 1 Tim. vi. 7.

The passages in the First Epistle to Timothy are alluded to but not mentioned as quotations.

4. THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, cap. v.

Εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι "Θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται," ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. Ὅμοίως διάκονοι ἅμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων· μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὖσπλαγχνοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων· ᾧ ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀποληψόμεθα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγείραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, "καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν" αὐτῷ, εἶγε πιστεύομεν. Ὅμοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἅμεμπτοι ἐν πᾶσι, πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες ἀγνείας, καὶ

χαλιναγωγούντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. Καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα “ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται.” καὶ “οὔτε πόρνοι, οὔτε μαλακοὶ, οὔτε ἀρσενικοῦται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν,” οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα.

Gal. vi. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 12; 1 Pet. ii. 11; 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

5. THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, cap. vi.

Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εὐσπλαγχοι, εἰς πάντας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα, ἐπισκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας, ἢ ὀρφανοῦ, ἢ πένητος· ἀλλὰ “προνοοῦντες αἰὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων,” ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ὀργῆς, προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου· μακρὰν ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας· μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατὰ τινος· μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφείλονται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας. Εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἐσμεν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ “πάντας δεῖ παραστήναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι.” Οὕτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβον καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ προφήται, οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν· ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλὸν, ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ψευδαδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου, οἵτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Romans xii. 17; Romans xiv. 10, 12; 2 Cor. v. 10.

6. THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, cap. vii.

“Πᾶς γὰρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστι.” καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστὶ· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγῃ μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν εἶναι, οὗτος προτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Διὸ ἀπολείποντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδο-διδασκαλίας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν, “νῆφοντες πρὸς τὰς εὐχάς,” καὶ προσκαρτεροῦντες νηστεύαις, δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπότην Θεὸν “μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,” καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· “τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής.”

1 John iv. 3; Matthew vi. 13; Mark xiv. 38.

7. THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP TO THE PHILIPPIANS, cap. viii.

Ἀδιαλείπτως οὖν προσκαρτερῶμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἄρραβῶνι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐστὶ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, “ὃς ἀνῆνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον,” “ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος

ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ·” ἀλλὰ δι’ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινε. Μιμηταὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν αὐτόν. Τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι’ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν.

1 Pet. ii. 24; 1 John iv. 9.

It is thus evident that the writers called the Apostolic Fathers must have possessed all the books of the New Testament, with the exception perhaps of the book of Revelation, which they do not quote. The passages are too numerous to allow the notion that they are merely accidental coincidences; and to the remark that the quotations are not always exact, the reply would be, that the Old Testament is always quoted in the same way, the substance or general meaning of the passage quoted being considered sufficient. The Epistle of Polycarp is the latest work of the Apostolic Fathers, and as it can hardly have been written much later than 110 A.D.¹ it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the books of the New Testament must have been composed and circulated among the Christians before the end of the first century. If we proceed to examine the quotations found in the writers succeeding the Apostolic Age we are led to precisely the same conclusion.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES, about 130 A.D.

The following chapters contain quotations from the New Testament:

CHAPTER I.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. Πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει. τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη· Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. Ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐάν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἔση τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἔν, ὕπαγε μετ’ αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σου τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει. Πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶως γάρ ἐστιν. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει

¹ It was written before the Martyrdom of Ignatius (c. xii.), which cannot have taken place later than 115 A.D., the date being fixed by the expedition of Trajan against the Parthians.

τις, ἀθῶως ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνα τί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὐ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· “Ἰδρυσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γινῶς τίνι δῶς.”

Matt. xxii. 40; Luke vi. 28, 32; Matt. v. 39; Luke vi. 29; Matt. v. 26.

CHAPTER III.

Τέκνον μου, φέυγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτῷ. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον· μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικός μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν· μηδὲ ἐπασιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικός μηδὲ περικαθαίρων μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρεία γεννᾶται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν· μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν· μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. Ἰσθι δὲ πραῦς· ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. Γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. οὐχ ὑψώσεις ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Matt. v. 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη. Ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. Μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε· “Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ῥφειλὴν ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.” τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

Matt. vi. 7—13.

CHAPTER IX.

Καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος· “Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.”¹
 Matt. vii. 6.

QUOTATIONS IN JUSTIN MARTYR, about 140 A.D.

In the genuine works of Justin Martyr every book of the New Testament is quoted with the exception of the following :

The First Epistle of S. Paul to the Thessalonians.

The Second Epistle to Timothy.

The Epistle to Titus.

The Epistle to Philemon.

The Second Epistle of Peter.

The Second and Third Epistles of S. John.

The Epistle of Jude.

The quotations from the Gospels are extremely numerous, so numerous in fact that it would not be possible to reprint them unless at the same time reprinting the text of Justin. It may be mentioned however that

The Gospel of S. Matthew is quoted one hundred and twelve times.

The Gospel of S. Mark fourteen times.

The Gospel of S. Luke sixty times.

The Gospel of S. John twenty-six times.

There are numerous quotations from the Acts of the Apostles, and from the Epistles excepting those mentioned.

The Book of Revelation is quoted three times :—

Revl. xx. 2 is quoted in *Apologia* i. c. 28.

Revl. xx. 6 is quoted in *Dialogus cum Tryphone* cap. 81 to the following effect :

καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν Ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ, χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφίτευσε.

Revelation xxi. 4 is alluded to though not exactly quoted in *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 45. 14.

The earlier quotations from the Gospels are always anonymous, the words of our Lord being quoted, not the writings of any particular evangelist. In Justin Martyr the first approach to regular quotation commences, as he cites what he calls the Memoirs of the Apostles¹.

¹ Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, 105. Compare, however, c. 100 for the use of εὐαγγέλιον for the written gospels: they are first cited by that name in *The Teaching of the Apostles*, c. xv.

The four gospels are first quoted with the names of their authors by Tertullian and Irenæus, that is to say, about the close of the second century : both of these mention the four evangelists by name and refer to their writings.

Justin Martyr is thus the last writer who cites the New Testament without mentioning the names of the writers : his period falls between 103 A.D. and 165. The earliest quotations from the gospels accompanied by the mention of the names of the writers occur in Irenæus, 120—200 A.D.; Tertullian, 160 A.D.—240; and Clement of Alexandria, 190 A.D.—217. Irenæus being thus the first writer who cites the books of the New Testament with the names of their authors, as Justin Martyr is the first who cites them in any quantity, it becomes important to know how far his evidence extends, as if satisfactory it would hardly be necessary to trace the quotations of a later date. We find then that Irenæus cites the Four Gospels giving at the same time the names of the authors. The Acts of the Apostles are quoted and St Luke expressly mentioned as their author. The whole of the Epistles of St Paul are quoted and attributed to him by name, with the exception of the *Epistle to Philemon*. The Epistle to the Hebrews is twice quoted, without however any mention of the authorship, and of the New Testament all the remaining books are quoted with the exception of the third Epistle of St John and the Epistle of Jude. It will be difficult consequently to deny that the books of the New Testament must have existed in the time of Irenæus, viz. about 140 A.D., precisely in the same form as we have them at present, and with the names of the authors as at present received.

With regard to the period at which the exact titles of the books were settled, the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark are mentioned by name in the works of Papias, who was himself a disciple of St John, and wrote most likely at the close of the first century : he is described by Eusebius as a person of small ability, but his testimony is valuable as shewing that before the close of the first century the canon had been substantially settled. The Gospel of St Luke is first mentioned by Irenæus in the second century. The Gospel of St John is also first mentioned by Irenæus. The same writer is the first actual authority for accepting the Acts of the Apostles as the work of St Luke. But the Epistle to the Romans is mentioned by Ignatius at the commencement of the second century, and the Epistle to the Corinthians by Clement of Rome at the close of the first century. The works of Papias and the other writers on the early history of the Christian Church having been lost

with the exception of a few fragments, we cannot say that there may not have been earlier testimonies to the authorship of the books of the New Testament than that of Irenæus, who apparently consulted the earliest authorities; and there is no variation in the account found in the later writers, Irenæus being always supported by Clement of Alexandria and the latter by Tertullian and Origen, there being scarcely any discrepancy of statement among the authorities previous to Eusebius, who examined the whole of the former writers on the subject, and by whom the first regular account of the canon may be considered to have been drawn up. An exception has of course to be made with regard to the book of Revelation, about which a good deal of controversy prevailed; and the Epistle to the Hebrews was sometimes doubted on account of its anonymous character: but with these two exceptions there seems to have been no difference of opinion in the Early Church, either as to the authenticity or the Canonicity of the books of the New Testament as we now possess them, as they can be traced from the close of the first century to the period of the Nicene Synod, after which Ecclesiastical History commences, and no doubts as to the genuineness or titles of the canonical books can be raised. The quotations in writers of the third century become so numerous that it is not practicable to publish them: it may be sufficient to say that every book is repeatedly quoted in Latin or Greek, and with the utmost accuracy, so that the quotations are used by modern editors in settling the readings of the text.

The quotations then commencing as early as 90 A.D.—the first Epistle to the Corinthians being quoted by name within forty years of the time at which it was written—and continued without any gap to the period at which Ecclesiastical History begins, at the commencement of the fourth century, there can be no reason to doubt that the books as we possess them are identical with those accepted by the Christians at the commencement of the second century. The actual titles of the books as we find them do not occur much before the time of Irenæus, about 160 A.D.; but the books themselves, including the four gospels, are evidently quoted at a much earlier period; and the omission of the titles may be explained by the fact of the persecution then existing, the possession of the Christian writings being punishable with death; so that until the edict of toleration by Hadrian¹ their existence would most likely be kept as secret as possible, the quotation of the books by name

¹ The reign of Hadrian falls between 117 and 138 A.D. For the edict of toleration cf. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 8, 9.

commencing a few years after the first cessation of the persecution. The view that the four Gospels are a compilation of the second century put together from materials handed down by tradition, does not seem tenable, as they would in that case have been mentioned in the second century as having been recently composed, though it may be allowed that they are of later date than the Epistles. They were most likely in the possession of the Christians at the close of the first century, though not cited by name for the reasons above given.

SPECIMEN OF QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT IN JUSTIN
MARTYR.

Dial. c. 103: οὗτος ὁ διάβολος τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων γέγραπται προσελθὼν αὐτῷ καὶ πειράζων μέχρι τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ Προσκύνησόν μοι· καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτῷ τὸν Χριστόν· Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου σατανᾶ· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. *Matt. iv. 10.*

Ap. i. 15: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ στέργειν ἅπαντας ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν· Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν...Εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς δόξαν ποιεῖν ταῦτα ἔφη· Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι δίδοτε καὶ τὸν βουλούμενον δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε. Εἰ γὰρ δανεῖζετε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν. *Matt. v. 46.*

Ap. i. 16: περὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὀμνύναι ὅλως τάληθῇ δὲ λέγειν ἀεὶ οὕτως παρεκελεύεσαστο· Μὴ ὀμόσητε ὅλως· ἔστω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ. *Matt. v. 34—37.*

Dial. c. 105: ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι γέγραπται· Ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. *Matt. v. 20.*

Dial. c. 100: καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ γέγραπται εἰπὼν· Πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός· καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός· οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἱς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. *Matt. xi. 27.*

Ap. i. 15: Εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς. *Matt. v. 44.*

Ap. i. 61: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῇτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. *John iii. 3.*

QUOTATIONS IN IRENÆUS.

140—170 A.D.

The following passages in Irenæus contain the earliest instances in which the books of the New Testament are quoted with the names

of their authors. They had previously been quoted either as the words of the Lord Jesus (Apostolic Fathers) or as the Memoirs of the Apostles (Justin Martyr). The latter expression deserves notice, as showing that they already existed in writing and were not merely traditional sayings. In Irenæus they all appear referred to their proper authors, and are quoted with little variation from the received text.

Irenæus III. 11. 8¹. All the four Gospels are quoted.

Ἐπειδὴ...τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου, ἐν ᾧ ἑσμέν, εἰςὶ καὶ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματα, κατέσπαρται δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, στύλος δὲ καὶ στήριγμα ἐκκλησίας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ πνεῦμα ζωῆς· εἰκότως τέσσαρας ἔχειν αὐτὴν στύλους, πανταχόθεν πνέοντας τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ ἀναζωπυροῦντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ἐξ ὧν φανερόν, ὅτι ὁ τῶν ἀπάντων τεχνίτης Λόγος, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ καὶ συνέχων τὰ πάντα, φανερωθεὶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐνὶ δὲ πνεύματι συνεχόμενον. Καθὼς ὁ Δαβὶδ αἰτούμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν, φησὶν· Ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, ἐμφάνηθι. Καὶ γὰρ τὰ Χερουβὶμ τετραπρόσωπα· καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, εἰκόνες τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ζῶον, φησὶν, ὅμοιον λέοντι, τὸ ἔμπρακτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν χαρακτηρίζον· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ, τὴν ἱερουργικὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν τάξιν ἐμφαίνον· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἔχον πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου, τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν φανερώτατα διαγράφον· τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ὅμοιον αἰετῇ πετωμένῳ, τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιπταμένου δόσιν σαφηνίζον. Καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια οὖν τούτοις σύμφωνα, ἐν οἷς ἐγκαθέζεται Χριστός. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡγεμονικὴν αὐτοῦ ...καὶ ἔνδοξον γενεὰν διηγείται, λέγον· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος² [καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος]. Καὶ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν...Τὸ δὲ κατὰ Λουκάν, αἶτε ἱερατικοῦ χαρακτήρος ὑπάρχον, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως θυμῶντος τῷ Θεῷ ἤρξατο. Ἦδη γὰρ ὁ σιτευτὸς ἡτοιμάζετο μόσχος, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνευρέσεως τοῦ νεωτέρου παιδὸς μέλλων θύεσθαι. Ματθαῖος δὲ τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ γέννησιν κηρύττει λέγων· Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ Δαβὶδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Καὶ τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν³. ἀνθρωπόμορφον οὖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο.....

Μάρκος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιόντος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο λέγων· Ἀρχὴ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ⁴, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν Ἠσαΐα τῷ προφῆτῃ· τὴν πτερωτικὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ

¹ The original has been preserved by Anastasius Sinaiticus, ms. Bodleian., Cod. Barocc. 206. The other passages are only found in the Latin version, which is however of equal authority, as it corresponds in every respect to the fragments of the Greek.

² John i. 1.

³ Matth. i. 1, 18.

⁴ Mark i. 1.

εὐαγγελίου δεικνύων· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ σύντομον καὶ παρατρέχουσιν τὴν καταγγελίαν πεποιήται· προφητικὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρακτήρ οὗτος. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν πρὸ Μωϋσέως πατριάρχαις κατὰ τὸ θεῖκόν καὶ ἔνδοξον ὁμίλει· τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἱερατικὴν...τάξιν ἀπένεμεν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς πᾶσαν ἐξέπεμψε τὴν γῆν, σκεπάζων ἡμᾶς ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ πτέρυξιν. Ὅποια οὖν ἡ πραγματεία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοιαύτη καὶ τῶν ζώων ἡ μορφή· καὶ ὅποια ἡ τῶν ζώων μορφή, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ χαρακτήρ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. Τετράμορφα γὰρ τὰ ζῶα, τετράμορφον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡ πραγματεία τοῦ Κυρίου. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τέσσαρες ἐδόθησαν καθολικαὶ διαθήκαι τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι· μία μὲν τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τοῦ Νῶε ἐπὶ τοῦ τόξου· δευτέρα δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἐπὶ τοῦ σημείου τῆς περιτομῆς· τρίτη δὲ ἡ νομοθεσία ἐπὶ τοῦ Μωϋσέως· τετάρτη δὲ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Irenæus III. II. 1 contains an account of the Gospel of St John.

Hanc fidem annuntians Johannes Domini discipulus, volens per evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho insemminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitæ, qui sunt vulsio ejus quæ falso cognominatur scientia, ut confunderet eos et suaderet, quoniam unus Deus qui omnia fecit per verbum suum; et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem Patrem Domini; et alium quidem fabricatoris filium, alterum vero de superioribus Christum, quem et impassibilem perseverasse, descendentem in Jesum filium fabricatoris, et iterum revolasse in suum Pleroma; et initium quidem esse Monogenem, Logon autem verum filium Unigeniti; et eam conditionem, quæ est secundum nos, non a primo Deo factam, sed a virtute aliqua valde deorsum subjecta, et abscissa ab eorum communicatione, quæ sunt invisibilia et innominabilia. Omnia igitur talia circumscribere volens discipulus Domini, et regulam veritatis constituere in ecclesia, quia est unus Deus omnipotens, qui per Verbum suum omnia fecit et visibilia et invisibilia; significans quoque, quoniam per Verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et salutem his qui in conditione sunt, præstitit hominibus; sic incohavit in ea, quæ est secundum Evangelium, doctrina: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum*¹; hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Quod factum est, in ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebræ eam non comprehenderunt. Omnia, inquit, per ipsum facta sunt; in omnibus ergo est et hæc, quæ secundum nos

¹ John i. 1.

est, conditio: non enim concedetur eis, *omnia* dici ea, quæ sunt infra Pleroma ipsorum. Si enim et hæc Pleroma ipsorum continet, non extra, est tanta ista conditio, quemadmodum ostendimus in eo libro qui ante hunc est; si autem extra Pleroma sunt hæc, quod quidem impossibile visum est, jam non est *omnia* Pleroma ipsorum; non est ergo extra hæc tanta conditio. Abstulit autem a nobis dissensiones omnes ipse Johannes, dicens: *In hoc mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit¹. In sua propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt.* Secundum autem Marcionem et eos qui similes sunt ei, neque mundus per eum factus est; neque in sua venit, sed in aliena.

Irenæus III. 12 contains a large number of quotations from the Acts of the Apostles. The following passage may be given as specimens.

Irenæus III. 12. 5.

Hæ voces² ecclesiæ, ex qua habuit omnis ecclesia initium; hæ voces civitatis magnæ, novi testamenti civium; hæ voces apostolorum, hæ voces discipulorum Domini, eorum qui post assumptionem Domini per Spiritum et perfecti exstiterunt, et invocaverunt Deum, qui fecit cælum et terram et mare, qui per prophetas annuntiatus est, et ejus Filius Jesus, quem unxit Deus, et alterum autem nescientes. Non enim erat ibi tunc Valentinus nec Marcion nec reliqui sui, vel eorum qui assentiunt eis, eversores. Propter quod et exaudivit eos factor omnium Deus. *Commotus est enim, inquit, locus, in quo erant collecti, et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto et loquebantur verbum Dei cum fiducia³, omni volenti credere. Virtute enim magna, inquit, reddebant testimonium Apostoli resurrectionis Domini Jesu⁴, dicentes ad eos: Deus patrum nostrorum excitavit Jesum, quem vos apprehendistis et interfecistis suspendentes in ligno. Hunc Deus principem et Salvatorem exaltavit gloria sua, dare pœnitentiam Israel et remissionem peccatorum; et nos in eo testes sumus sermonum horum et Spiritus sanctus, quem dedit Deus credentibus ei⁵. Omni quoque die, inquit, in templo et in domo non cessabant docentes et evangelizantes Christum Jesum Filium Dei⁶.* Hæc enim erat salutis agnitio, quæ perfectos ad Deum efficit eos, qui cognoscunt Filii ejus adventum.

Irenæus III. 14. 1 gives an account of the authorship of the Acts.

Quoniam autem is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paulo, et cooperarius ejus in evangelio, ipse facit manifestum, non glorians, sed ab ipsa

¹ John i. 10.

² The earlier part of the passage from Hæ voces to credere is found in the Greek.

³ Acts iv. 31.

⁴ Acts iv. 33.

⁵ Acts v. 30.

⁶ Acts v. 42.

productus veritate. Separatis enim, inquit, a Paulo et Barnaba et Johanne, qui vocabatur Marcus, et quum navigassent Cyprum¹, *nos venimus in Troadem*: et quum vidisset Paulus per somnium virum Macedonem, dicentem; *Veniens in Macedoniam opitulare nobis, Paule; statim, ait, quæsiuimus proficisci in Macedoniam, intelligentes quoniam provocavit nos Dominus evangelizare eis. Navigantes igitur a Troade, direximus navigium in Samothracen*; et deinceps reliquum omnem ipsorum usque ad Philippos adventum diligenter significat, et quemadmodum primum sermonem locuti sunt: *Sedentes enim, inquit, locuti sumus mulieribus quæ convenerant*²; et quinam crediderunt, et quam multi. Et iterum ait: *Nos autem navigabimus post dies azymorum a Philippis et venimus Troadem, ubi et commorati sumus diebus septem*³. Et reliqua omnia ex ordine cum Paulo refert, omni diligentia demonstrans et loca et civitates et quantitatem dierum, quoadusque Hierosolymam ascenderent⁴; et quæ illic contigerint Paulo, quemadmodum vinctus Romam missus est et nomen Centurionis, qui suscepit eum⁵, et parasema navium et quemadmodum naufragium fecerunt et in qua liberati sunt insula⁶, et quemadmodum humanitatem ibi perceperunt, Paulo curante principem ipsius insulæ, et quemadmodum inde Puteolos navigaverunt, et inde Romam pervenerunt, et quanto tempore Romæ commorati sunt. Omnibus his quum adesset Lucas, diligenter conscripsit ea, uti neque mendax neque elatus deprehendi possit, eo quod omnia hæc constarent, et seniore eum esse omnibus qui nunc aliud docent, neque ignorare veritatem. Quoniam non solum prosecutor, sed et cooperarius fuerit Apostolorum, maxime autem Pauli, et ipse autem Paulus manifestavit in epistolis, dicens: *Demas me dereliquit et abiit Thessalonicam, Crescens in Galatiam, Titus in Dalmatiam; Lucas est mecum solus*⁷. Unde ostendit quod semper junctus ei, et inseparabilis fuerit ab eo. Et iterum in ea epistola quæ est ad Colossenses, ait: *Salutat vos Lucas medicus dilectus*⁸. Si autem Lucas quidem, qui semper cum Paulo prædicavit et dilectus ab eo est dictus, et cum eo evangelizavit, et creditus est referre nobis evangelium, nihil aliud ab eo didicit, sicut ex verbis ejus ostensum est; quemadmodum hi qui nunquam Paulo adjuncti fuerunt, gloriantur abscondita et inenarrabilia didicisse sacramenta?

Quoniam autem Paulus simpliciter, quæ sciebat, hæc et docuit, non solum eos qui cum eo erant, verum omnes audientes se, ipse facit

¹ Acts xv. 39.² Acts xvi. 8—13.³ Acts xx. 6.⁴ Acts xxi. 1.⁵ Acts xxvii. 1.⁶ Acts xxviii. 1.⁷ 2 Tim. iv. 9—11.⁸ Coloss. iv. 14.

manifestum. In Mileto enim convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso, et a reliquis proximis civitatibus, quoniam ipse festinaret Hierosolymis Pentecosten agere, multa testificans eis et dicens quæ oportet ei Hierosolymis evenire, adjecit: *Scio quoniam jam non videbitis faciem meam: testificor igitur vobis hac die, quoniam mundus sum a sanguine omnium. Non enim subtraxi, uti non annuntiarem vobis omnem sententiam Dei. Attendite igitur et vobis et omni gregi, in quo vos Spiritus sanctus præposuit episcopos, regere ecclesiam Domini, quam sibi constituit per sanguinem suum.* Deinde significans futuros malos doctores, dixit: *Ego scio quoniam advenient post discessum meum lupi graves ad vos, non parcentes gregi. Et ex vobis ipsis exsurgent viri loquentes perversa, uti convertant discipulos post se. Non subtraxi, inquit, uti non annuntiarem omnem sententiam Dei vobis*¹. Sic apostoli simpliciter, et nemini invidentes, quæ didicerant ipsi a Domino, hæc omnibus tradebant. Sic igitur et Lucas nemini invidens, ea quæ ab eis didicerat, tradidit nobis, sicut ipse testificatur dicens: *Quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio contemplatores et ministri fuerunt Verbi*².

Si autem quis refutet Lucam, quasi non cognoverit veritatem, manifestus erit projiciens evangelium, cujus dignatur esse discipulus. Plurima enim et magis necessaria evangelii per hunc cognovimus, sicut Johannis generationem et de Zacharia historiam et adventum angeli ad Mariam et exclamationem Elizabeth et angelorum ad pastores descensum, et ea quæ ab illis dicta sunt, et Annæ et Simeonis de Christo testimonium, et quod duodecim annorum in Hierusalem relictus sit, et baptismum Johannis, et quot annorum Dominus baptizatus sit, et quia in quintodecimo anno Tiberii Cæsaris. Et in magisterio illud quod ad divites dictum est: *Væ vobis, divites, quoniam percipitis consolationem vestram. Et væ vobis qui satiati estis, quoniam esurietis; et qui ridetis nunc, quia plorabitis. Et væ vobis cum benedixerint vos homines omnes. Secundum hæc enim faciebant et pseudo-prophetis patres vestri*³. Et omnia hujusmodi per solum Lucam cognovimus, et plurimos actus Domini per hunc didicimus, quibus et omnes utuntur: ut multitudinem piscium, quam concluserunt hi qui cum Petro erant, jubente Domino ut mitterent retia⁴. Et illa quæ per octodecim annos passa, curata fuerat mulier die sabbatorum⁵. Et de hydropico, quem curavit Dominus die sabbatorum, et quemadmodum disputavit quod curavit in hac die⁶; et quemadmodum docuit discipulos primos discubitus non appetere; et quoniam pauperes et debiles vocare oportet, qui non habent retribuere.

¹ Acts xx. 17, 25, 29, 30.² Luke i. 2.³ Luke vi. 24—26.⁴ Luke v. 1—11.⁵ Luke xiii. 11.⁶ Luke xiv. 1—6.

The Title Acts of the Apostles first occurs in Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* v. 12. 83, καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Cf. Tertullian *De Baptismo* 10, in Actis Apostolicis inveniemus, and the Muratorian Canon : Acta autem omnium Apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt.

QUOTATIONS IN IRENÆUS FROM THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL.

Irenæus III. 16. 2.

Hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus, scribens ad Romanos : *Paulus Apostolus Jesu Christi, prædestinatus in evangelium Dei, quod promisit per prophetas suos in Scripturis sanctis de Filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine David secundum carnem, qui prædestinatus est Filius Dei in virtute, per Spiritum sanctificationis ex resurrectione mortuorum Jesu Christi Domini nostri*¹. Et iterum ad Romanos scribens de Israel, dicit : *Quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est Deus super omnes benedictus in sæcula*². Et iterum in epistola, quæ est ad Galatas, ait : *Quum autem venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret, ut adoptionem percipiamus*³.

Irenæus v. 14. 2.

Et propter hoc Apostolus in epistola quæ est ad Colossenses, ait : *Et vos quum essetis aliquando alienati, et inimici cogitationi ejus in operibus malis, nunc autem reconciliati in corpore carnis ejus, per mortem ejus, exhibere vos sanctos et castos et sine crimine in conspectu ejus*⁴.

Irenæus v. 14. 3.

Quemadmodum Apostolus Ephesiis ait : *In quo habuimus redemptionem per sanguinem ejus, remissionem peccatorum*. Et rursus eisdem : *Vos, inquit, qui aliquando eratis longe, facti estis juxta in sanguine Christi*. Et iterum : *Inimicitias in carne sua, legem præceptorum decretis evacuans*⁵.

¹ Romans i. 1—4.

² Romans ix. 5.

³ Galat. iv. 4, 5.

⁴ Coloss. i. 21, 22.

⁵ Ephes. i. 7; ii. 13, 14, 15.

MENTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN CLASSICAL WRITERS OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiq. Jud.* XVIII. 3. 3.

About 80 A.D.

The crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἴ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῇ δεχομένων· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. εἰσέτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiq. Jud.* XVIII. 5. 2.

The mission of John the Baptist and his execution by Herod Antipas.

καὶ Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα πράσσειν ἐπέστειλλε τῷ κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγῷ, τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα δικαίως τιννυμένου κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ. κτείνει γὰρ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύοντα, ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦντας καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ χρωμένους, βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανείσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἀμαρτάδων παραιτήσῃ χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκεκαθαμένης. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφόμενων (καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν ἐπὶ πλείστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων) δέσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθάνον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι (πάντα γὰρ ἐύκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες), πολλὴν κρείττον ἡγείται, πρὶν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ μεταβολῆς γενομένης εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθείς, τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον, ταύτῃ κτίννυται· τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι, τοῦ θεοῦ κακῶς Ἡρώδῃ θέλοντος.

MENTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN WRITERS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

TACITUS, *Annals* xv. 44.

100—120 A.D.

This is the first mention of the Christians in the Latin Classical writers. The period referred to is in the reign of Nero about 65 A.D. The *Annals* of Tacitus were not however written until the commencement of the second century, to which date the passage belongs.

Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin iussum incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos adpellabat. Auctor nominis eius Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Iudæam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primo conrepti, qui fatebantur, deinde, indicio eorum, multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contacti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi, aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ permixtus plebi, vel curriculo insistens. Unde, quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica, sed in sævitiam unius, absumerentur.

SUETONIUS, *Nero* xvi.

100—130 A.D.

Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ et maleficæ.

C. PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS, *Ep.* 96 (97).

About 104 A.D.

Pliny the younger was appointed Pro-Prætor of Bithynia in 103 A.D. and held the post for about two years.

C. PLINIUS TRAJANO IMP.

Sollemne est mihi, Domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere, vel ignorantiam

instruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui nunquam : ideo nescio, quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat, aut quæri. Nec mediocriter hæsitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen ætatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant : deturne pœnitentiæ venia, an ei, qui omnino Christianus fuit, desisse non prosit : nomen ipsum, etiamsi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur. Interim in iis, qui ad me tanquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, *an essent Christiani?* Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus : perseverantes duci iussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset, quod faterentur, **pervicaciam certe, et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.** Fuerunt alii similis amentiae : quos, quia cives Romani erant, annotavi in urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine, plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore, multorum nomina continens, qui negarent se esse Christianos, aut fuisse. Quum, praeunte me, deos appellarent, et imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum afferri, thure ac vino supplicarent, præterea **maledicerent Christo ;** quorum **nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt revera Christiani ;** ego dimittendos putavi. Alii ab indice nominati, esse se Christianos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt : fuisse quidem, sed desiisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti quoque. Omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt : ii et Christo maledixerunt. Affirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent : quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen, et innoxium : quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam, ideoque, dilata cognitione, ad consulendum te decurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum, et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est : quæ videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat, prope iam desolata templa cœpisse celebrari, et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa

repeti: passimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emtor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quæ turba hominum emendari possit, si sit pœnitentiæ locus.

TRAIANUS PLINIO S.

Actum, quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis caussis eorum, qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen, ut, qui negaverit se Christianum esse, idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est, supplicando diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in præteritum fuerit, veniam ex pœnitentia impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli, nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli, nec nostri sæculi est.

LUCIAN *de morte Peregrini.* II.

120—200 A.D.

The birth of Lucian falls in the reign of Hadrian, and his works were chiefly composed during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

ὅτεπερ καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν σοφίαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐξέμαθε περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ γραμματεῦσιν αὐτῶν συγγενόμενος. καὶ τί γάρ; ἐν βραχεὶ παῖδας αὐτοὺς ἀπέφηνε προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ ξυναγωγεὺς καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὢν· καὶ τῶν βίβλων τὰς μὲν ἐξηγείτο καὶ διεσάφει, πολλὰς δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ξυνέγραφε, καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι ἡγοῦντο καὶ νομοθέτῃ ἐχρῶντο καὶ προστάτῃ ἐπέγραφον· τὸν μέγαν γοῦν ἐκείνον ἔτι σέβουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, ὅτι καινὴν ταύτην τελετὴν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον. τότε δὴ καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πρωτεὺς ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ ἀξίωμα περιεποίησε πρὸς τὸν ἐξῆς βίον καὶ τὴν τερατείαν καὶ δοξοκοπίαν, ὃν ἑρῶν ἐτύγγαεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐδέδετο, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ συμφορὰν ποιούμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα πάντα ἐκίνουν ἐξαρπάσαι πειρώμενοι αὐτόν. εἴτ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀδύνατον, ἢ γε ἄλλη θεραπεία πᾶσα οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ σὺν σπουδῇ ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γράδια χήρας τινὰς καὶ παιδία ὀρφανὰ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν καὶ συνεκάθευδον ἔνδον μετ' αὐτοῦ διαφθείροντες τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας· εἴτα δειπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο καὶ ὁ βέλτιστος Περεγρίνος—ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο—καινὸς Σωκράτης ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομάζετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων ἐστὶν ὢν ἡκόν τινες, τῶν Χριστιανῶν στελλόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, βοηθήσοντες καὶ ξυναγορεύσοντες καὶ παραμυθησόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀμήχανον δέ τι τὸ τάχος ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐπειδὴν τι τοιοῦτον γένηται δημόσιον· ἐν βραχεὶ

γάρ, ἀφειδοῦσι πάντων. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Περεγρίνῳ πολλὰ τότε ἦκε χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ πρόσδοτον οὐ μικρὰν ταύτην ἐποιήσατο· πεπείκασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί· ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν ἀλλήλων, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνῆσονται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκείνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιώσι.

LUCIAN *de morte Peregrini*. 41.

φασὶ δὲ πάσαις σχεδὸν ταῖς ἐνδόξοις πόλεσιν ἐπιστολὰς διαπέμψαι αὐτὸν διαθήκας τινὰς καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ νόμους· καὶ τινὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρεσβευτὰς τῶν ἐταίρων ἐχειροτόνησε νεκραγγέλους καὶ νερτεροδρόμους προσαγορεύσας.

LUCIAN *Alexander*. 25. .

ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης βαθείας ἀναφέροντες συνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Ἐπικούρου ἐταῖροι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπεφύρατο ἡρέμα ἥδη πᾶσα ἡ μαγγανεία καὶ συσκευὴ τοῦ δράματος, ἐκφέρει φόβητρόν τι ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγων ἀθέων ἐμπεπλησθαι καὶ Χριστιανῶν τὸν Πόντον, οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ τολμῶσι τὰ κάκιστα βλασφημεῖν, οἷς ἐκέλευε λίθοις ἐλαύνειν, εἰ γε ἐθέλουσιν ἱλεων ἔχειν τὸν θεόν. περὶ δὲ Ἐπικούρου καὶ τοιοῦτόν τινα χρησμὸν ἀπεφθέγγετο· ἐρομένου γάρ τινος τί πράττει ἐν Αἰδοῦ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος; Μολυβδίνας, ἔφη, ἔχων πέδας ἐν βορβόρῳ κάθηται.

LUCIAN *Alexander*. 38.

καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσεμηχανᾶτο· τελετὴν τε γάρ τινα συνίσταται καὶ δαδουχίας καὶ ἱεροφαντίας, τριῶν ἐξῆς αἰὲ τελουμένων ἡμερῶν· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ πρόρρησις ἦν ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησι τοιαύτη· Εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικουρείος ἤκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω, οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ τελείσθωσαν τύχη τῇ ἀγαθῇ. εἰπ' εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐξέλασις ἐγίνετο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο λέγων “ἔξω Χριστιανούς,” τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐπεφθέγγετο “ἔξω Ἐπικουρείους.”

LUCIAN *Philopatris*. 12.

The genuineness of the *Philopatris* has been called in question, but without much reason; it is most probably one of the later works of Lucian.

ἐγὼ γάρ σε διδάξω τί τὸ πᾶν καὶ τίς ὁ πρῶν πάντων καὶ τί τὸ σύστημα τοῦ παντός· καὶ γὰρ πρῶν καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔπασχον ἅπερ σύ, ἡνίκα δέ μοι Γαλιλαῖος ἐνέτυχεν, ἀναφаланτίας, ἐπίρρινος, ἐς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀεροβατήσας

καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκμεμαθηκώς, δι' ὕδατος ἡμᾶς ἀνεκαίνισεν, ἐς τὰ τῶν μακάρων ἔχνια παρεισώδευσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρων ἡμᾶς ἐλυτρώσατο. καὶ σὲ ποιήσω, ἣν μου ἀκούης, ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἄνθρωπον.

MENTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN WRITERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

DION CASSIUS, about 220 A.D.

Hist. Rom. LXXII. 4. Commodus.

Μαρκία δέ τις, Κοναδράτου τῶν τότε φονευθέντων ἑνὸς παλλακῇ, καὶ Ἑκλεκτος πρόκοιτος, ὁ μὲν, καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου πρόκοιτος, ἡ δὲ, παλλακῇ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦ Ἑκλέκτου μετὰ ταῦτα γυνή· καὶ ἐπέιδε καὶ ἐκείνους βιαίως ἀποθνήσκοντας· ἱστορεῖται δὲ αὕτη πολλά τε ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν σπουδάσαι, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς εὐεργετήκεναι, αἵτε καὶ παρὰ Κομμόδῳ πᾶν δυναμένη.

AUSONIUS. 320—390 A.D.

Versus Paschales.

Sancta salutiferi redeunt solemnia Christi,
Et devota pii celebrant jejunia mystæ.
At nos æternum cohibentes pectore cultum,
Intemeratorum vim continuamus honorum.
Annua cura sacris, jugis reverentia nobis.

Magne pater rerum, cui terra, et pontus, et aer,
Tartaraque, et picti servit plaga lactea cœli :
Noxia quem scelerum plebes tremit, almaque rursum
Concelebrat votis animarum turba piarum ;
Tu brevis hunc ævi cursum, celerumque caducæ
Finem animæ donas æternæ munere vitæ.
Tu mites legum monitus, sacrosque prophetas
Humano impertis generi servasque nepotes,
Deceptum miseratus Adam, quem capta venenis
Implicuit socium blandis erroribus Eva.
Tu Verbum, pater alme, tuum, natumque, Deumque
Concedis terris totum, similemque, paremque,
Ex vero verum, vivaque ex origine vivum.
Ille tuis doctus monitis hoc addidit unum,
Ut super æquoreas nabat qui Spiritus undas,
Pigra immortalī vegetaret membra lavacro.
Trina fides auctore uno : spes certa salutis
Hunc numerum junctis virtutibus amplectenti.

Tale et terrenis specimen spectatur in oris
 Augustus genitor, geminâm sator Augustorum;
 Quî fratrem natumque pio complexus utrumque
 Numine, partitur regnum, neque dividit unum,
 Omnia solus habens, atque omnia dilargitus.
 Hos igitur nobis trina pietate vigentes,
 Rectores terræ placidos, cælique ministros,
 Christe, apud æternum placabilis adsere Patrem.

This is the first mention of Christianity in the Latin poets. Ausonius was however almost certainly a Christian, as he was tutor to the son of Valentinianus I., a Christian emperor.

CLAUDIAN. 360—410 A.D.

Miracula Christi.

Angelus alloquitur Mariam, quo præscia verbo
 Concipiat, salva virginitate, Deum.
 Dant tibi Chaldæi prænuntia munera reges.
 Myrrham homo, rex aurum, suscipe thura Deus.
 Permutat lymphas in vina liquentia Christus :
 Quo primum facto se probat esse Deum.
 Quinque explent panes, pisces duo, millia quinque :
 Et Deus ex parvo plus superesse jubet.
 Editus ex utero cæcus nova lumina sensit,
 Et stupet ignotum se meruisse diem.
 Lazarus e tumulo, Christo inclamante, resurgit,
 Et duræ mortis lex resoluta perit.
 Nutantem quatit unda Petrum : cui Christus in alto
 Et dextra gressus firmat, et ore fidem.
 Exsanguis Christi contingit fœmina vestem :
 Stat cruor in venis : fit medicina fides.
 Jussus post multos graditur paralyticus annos
 Mirandum, lecti portitor ipse sui.

There is some doubt whether Claudian was himself a Christian, as he is described by Augustine¹ as “a Christi nomine alienus,” and in Epigram xxii. a mocking use is made of names occurring in Scripture, but he was evidently acquainted with the Christian system, and the poems supposed to be Christian may have been written to promote the circulation of his other writings, Christianity being at the time the established religion.

¹ *De Civitate Dei*, v. 26.

THE OLDEST AUTHORITIES USED IN THE FORMATION OF THE CANON.

THE MURATORIAN CANON.

THIS, which is most probably the oldest list of the books of the New Testament in existence, was discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan by Muratori about 1740 A.D.; it came originally from the monastery at Bobbio, and is not a separate work, but is part of a collection of passages from the works of various authors, beginning with a passage from Eucherius, and including extracts from Chrysostom, Ambrose and other writers. The fragment, which is incomplete in its commencement, the account of the gospels of St Matthew and St Mark being lost, but complete in its termination, follows an extract from Eucherius, *Liber Formularum*, and is followed by a passage from St Ambrose, *Homilia de Abrahamo*.

The existing manuscript is of about the eighth century¹, but the original no doubt dates from the second century, and cannot, as the passage about Hermas shows, have been much later than 170 A.D. The transcript in the Ambrosian library is remarkable for the number of grammatical errors and mistakes it contains, but as these occur equally in the passage of Ambrose, they most likely were not found in the original manuscript, and are due to a want of education on the part of the copyist. Two versions of it are subjoined, one literally copied, though not facsimiled, from the manuscript, the other with the grammatical errors and misspellings of the manuscript set right. There seems no reason for doubting the genuineness of the document, though it is not quoted by any ancient writer, and is entirely anonymous.

¹ *Muratorii Antiquitates Italicae*, iii. 809.

quibus tamen Interfuit et ita posuit.

u

TERTIO EUANGELII LIBRUM SEC^uND^o LUCAN¹

s

Lucas Iste medicus post acensum XPI.
Cum eo Paulus quasi ut iuris studiosum.
Secundum adsumsisset numeni suo

b

ex opinione concriset dñm tamen nec Ipse

ut

audidit in carne et idē pro asequi potuit.
Ita et ad natiuitate Iohannis incipet dicere.

QUARTI EUANGELIORUM IOHANNIS EX DECIPOLIS
cohortantibus condiscipulis et ēps suis
dixit conieiunate mihi. odie triduo et quid
cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum
nobis ennarremus eadem nocte reue
latum andreae ex apostolis ut recognis
centibus cuntis Iohannis suo nomine

c e

cunta describret et ideo licit uaria sin
culis euangeliorum libris principia
doceantur Nihil tamen differt creden

tium fēdei cum uno ac principali spū de
clarata sint in omnibus omnia de natiui
tate de passione de resurrectione

r

de conuesatione cum decipulis suis
ac de gemino eius aduentu
Primo In humilitate dispectus quod [fo

s

tu] secundum potestate regali pre
clarum quod foturum est. quid ergo
mirum si Iohannes tam constanter
sincula etiā In epistulis suis proferat
dicens In semeipsu Quæ uidimus oculis
nostris et auribus audiimus et manus
nostrae palpauerunt haec scripsimus

uobis

¹ The manuscript has been partly corrected by a later hand, but a large number of mistakes have been left untouched.

Sic enim non solum uisurem [&] sed auditorem
sed et scriptorē omnium mirabiliū dñi per ordi
nem profetetur Acta autē omniū apostolorum
sub uno libro scribta sunt Lucas obtime theofi
le conprindit quia sub praesentia eius singula
gerebantur sicutē et semote passionē Petri

euidenter declarat [&] Sed profectionē pauli ad[b] ur
bes ad spaniā proficescentis Epistolae autem
Pauli quae a quo loco uel qua ex causa directe
sint uolentatibus intellegere Ipse declarantꝫ
Primū omnium corintheis scysmæ heresis In

terdicens deInceps ^c B callatis circumcissione
Romanis autē ornidine scripturarum sed et
principium earum *osd* esse xpm Intimans
prolexius scripsit de quibus sincolis Neces
se est ad nobis desputari Cum ipse beatus
apostolus paulus sequens prodecessoris sui

Iohannis ordinē nonnisi ⁿ comenati, semptaē

ⁱⁱ eccleses scribat ordine tali a corenthios
prima. ad efesios seconda ad philippinses ter
tia ad colosensis quarta ad calatas quin
ta ad tensaolenecinsis sexta. ad romanos

^h septima Uerum core[i]ntheis et tesaolecen
sibus licet pro correptione Iteretur una
tamen per omnem orbem terrae ecclesia
deffusa esse denoscitur Et Iohannis enī In a
pocalibsy licet septē eccleseis scribat
tamen omnibus dicit uerū ad filemonem una'
et at titū una et ad tymotheū duas pro affec
to et dilectione In honore tamen ecclesiae ca
tholice In ordinatione ecclesiastice

de[i]sceptine sc̄ificate sunt Fertur etiam ad
 Laudecenses alia ad alexandrinos Pauli no
 mine fincte ad hesem marcionis et alia plu
 ra quae In catholicam ecclesiam recepi non
 potest Fel enim cum melle misceri non con
 cruit epistola sane Iude et superscriptio
 Iohannis duas In catholica habentur Et sapi
 entia ab amicis salomonis in honorē ipsius
 scripta apocalapse etiam Iohanis et Pe
 tri tantum recipe[i]mus quam quidam ex nos
 tris legi In ecclesia nolunt Pastorem uero
 nuperrim et temporibus nostris In urbe
 roma herma conscripsit sedente cathe
 tra urbis romae aeclesiae Pio eps̄ frater^r
 eius et ideo legi eum quidē Oportet se pu
 plicare uero In ecclesia populo Neque inter
 profe*tas completum numero Neque Inter
 apostolos In finē temporum potest.
 Arsinoi autem seu ualentini. uel mitiadeisⁱ
 nihil In totum recipemus. Qui etiam nouū
 psalmorum librum marcioni conscripse
 runt una cum basilide assianum catafry
 cum contitutorem^s

The passage which follows is from St Ambrose, *Homilia de Abrahamo*,
 i. 3. 15.

Fol. 11^a, l. 24.

ABRHAM NOMERAVIT SERUOLUS suos uer
 naculus et cum trecentis dece et octo
 uiru[i]s adeptus uictoriam liuerauit nepotē
 prouatur diuisionis adfectus quando sic
 amabat nepotem ut pro eo nec uelli decli
 nare periculum^t Quid est nomerauit hoc
 est elegit Unde et illud non solū ad scien
 tiam dei refertur. Sed etiā ad cratia Iustorum

quod in euangelio dicit dñs ihs et capilli uestri
omnes nomerati sunt cognouit ergo dñs qui
sunt eius. *Eos autem* eos autē qui non sunt
ipsius non dignatur cognoscere Numerauit
cccxviii ut scias non quantitātē numeri sed me

ritum electionis expressu. Eos enim adscuitⁱ

quod^s dignu[o]s numero iudicauit fidelium * * * * *
qui in dñi nostri ihu xpi passionem crederent
ccc enim *d τ* greca littera significat. dece
et octo autē summa IH exprimit nomen fidei
Ergo merito habraham uicit non populoso
exercito deneque eos quibus quinque regum

arma ceserunt cum paucis egressus uer^s
naculis triumphauit Sed qui uincit non
debet arrocicare sibi uictoria sed referre
deo. hoc abraham docit qui triumpho
homilior factus est non superuior. sacri
fium denique obtulit decimas dedit
ideoque eum melchisedeh qui interpe
tratione latine dicitur rex Iustitiae rex
pacis benedixit erat enim sacerdos sum
mi dñi qui est rex Iustitiae sacerdos dei

isi
non cui dicitur tu es sacerdos in aeternū
secondū ordine melchisedeh hoc est dei
filius sacerdos patris qui sui corporis
sacrificio patrem nostris repropicia

uit dilectis + nomerauit abraam seruo^h
los suos uernaculos et cum cccxviii uiris
adeptus uictoria liuerauit nepotem quid
est nomerauit. hoc est elegit. unde et illud
non solum ad scientiā dei refertu*r sed
etiam ad cratia Iustorum

quod in evangelio dicit dñs ihs et capilli uestri omnes nomerati sunt. cognouit ergo dñs qui sunt ipsius. eos autem qui non sunt ipsius non dignatur cognoscere. Nomerauit autē cccxviii ut scias non quantitātē numeri sed meritum electionis expressum. Eos autem sciuit quod dignos numero iudicavit fideleium qui in dñi nostri ihu xpi passionem crederent. ccc enim dece et octo greca littera significat xviii autem summa IH exprimit nomen fidei. ergo abraham uicit non populosu exercitu denique eos quibus V regum arma cesserunt cum paucis egressus uernaculis triumphauit. Sed qui uincit non debet arrogare sibi uictoriā dō referri hoc abraham docit qui triumpho homilior factus est. Non superior sacrificium N denique obtulit decimas dedit ideoque eum melchisedeh qui interpetraone latina rex iustitiae rex pacis benedixit. erat enim sacerdos summi dī qui est rex iustitiae sacerdos dī nisi cui dicitur tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordine melchisedeh hoc est filius sacerdos patris qui suis corporis sacrificat patrē nostris repropitiavit dilectis.

The passage commencing "quod in evangelio dicit" is from St Ambrose, and is twice given in the MSS. for some reason not known: it is a continuation of the previous passage of Ambrose. Next follows a passage from Eucherius Lugd. *Instruct.* ii. 3.

THE MURATORIAN CANON CORRECTED.

quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit. Tertium evangelii librum secundum Lucam. Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum secundum adsumsisset, nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit: Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne et idem prout assequi potuit scripsit, ita ab nativitate Johannis incipit dicere. Quarti evangelii auctor Johannes ex discipulis. Cohortantibus con-

discipulis et episcopis suis dixit, Conjejunate mihi hodie triduum et quid cuique fuerit revelatum alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreæ ex apostolis ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret. Et ideo licet varia singulis evangeliorum libris principia doceantur nihil tamen differt credentium fidei, cum uno ac principali spiritu declarata sint in omnibus omnia de nativitate, de passione, de resurrectione, de conversatione cum discipulis suis, ac de gemino ejus adventu, primum in humilitate despectus, quod fuit, secundum potestate regali præclarum, quod futurum est. Quid ergo mirum si Johannes tam constanter singula etiam in epistulis suis proferat, dicens in semetipsum, Quæ vidimus oculis nostris et auribus audivimus et manus nostræ palpaverunt hæc scripsimus? Sic enim non solum visorem sed et auditorem sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium domini per ordinem profitetur.

Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt: Lucas optimo Theophilo comprehendit quia sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur ut semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, et protectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.

Epistolæ autem Pauli quæ, a quo loco vel qua ex causa directæ sint, volentibus intelligere ipsæ declarant. Primum omnium Corinthiis scripsit schisma heresis interdicens, deinceps Galatis circumcisionem. Romanis autem ordine scripturarum sed et principium earum esse Christum intimans prolixius scripsit, de quibus singulis necesse est a nobis disputari.

Cum ipse beatus Apostolus Paulus sequens prædecessoris sui Johannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat, ordine tali. Ad Corinthios prima, ad Ephesios secunda, ad Philippenses tertia, ad Colossenses quarta, ad Galatas quinta, ad Thessalonicenses sexta, ad Romanos septima, verum Corinthiis et Thessalonicensibus pro correptione iteretur, una tamen per omnem orbem terræ ecclesia diffusa esse dignoscitur. Johannes enim in Apocalipsi licet septem ecclesiis scribat tamen omnibus dicit. Verum ad Philemonem unam et ad Titum unam et ad Timotheum duas, pro affectu et dilectione, in honore tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ et in ordinatione ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt.

Fertur etiam ad Laodicenses, alia ad Alexandrinos Pauli nomine finctæ ad hæresim Marcionis et alia plura quæ in ecclesia Catholica recipi non possunt. Fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit. Epistola sane Judæ et superscripti Johannis duæ in Catholica habentur et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta. Apocalypses

etiam Johannis et Petri tantum recipimus quas quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt : Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre ejus, et ideo legi eum quidem oportet, se publicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter prophetas completos numero, neque inter Apostolos in finem temporum potest. Arsinoi autem seu Valentini vel Miltiadis nihil in totum recipimus, qui etiam novum psalorum librum Marcioni conscripserunt, una cum Basilide Asiano Cataphrygo constitutore.

LIST OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT CONTAINED
IN THE CODEX CLAROMONTANUS.

The Codex Claromontanus is a manuscript of the Epistles of St Paul in Greek and Latin written in parallel columns : it is in uncial characters and of great antiquity, perhaps as early as 250 A.D. Between the Epistle to Philemon and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is the last of the series, there is inserted a list of the books of the Old and New Testament, with the number of verses, i.e. lines, contained in each.

The following is the list.

Versus Scribaturarum Sanctarum.

ita Genesis versus	īīīD	Sapientia ihv ver.	īīD
Exodus versus	īīīDCC	xii Profetae ver.	
Leviticum versus	īīDCCC	Ossee ver.	DXXX
Numeri versus	īīīDCL	Amos ver.	CCCCX
Deuteronomium ver.	īīīCCC	Micheas ver.	CCCX
Iesu Navve ver.	īī	Joel ver.	XC
Iudicum ver.	īī	Abdias ver.	LXX
Rud ver.	CCL	Jonas ver.	CL
Regnorum ver.		Naum ver.	CXL
Primus liber ver.	īīD	Ambacum ver.	CLX
Secundus lib. ver.	īī	Sophonias ver.	CLX
Tertius lib. ver.	īīDC	Aggeus ver.	CX
Quartus lib. ver.	īīCCCC	Zacharias	DCLX
Psalmi Davitici ver.	D*	Malachiel ver.	CC
Proverbia ver.	īDC	Eseias ver.	īīīDC
Aeclesiastes ver.	DC	Ieremias ver.	īīīLXX
Cantica Canticorum	CCC	Ezechiel ver.	īīīDC
Sapientia ver.	ī	Daniel ver.	īDC

Maccabeorum (<i>sic</i>)		AD Efesios ver.	CCCLXV
Lib. Primus ver.	īīCCC	AD Timotheum I. ver.	CCVIII
Lib. Secundus ver.	īīCCC	AD Timotheum II. ver.	CCLXXXVIII
Lib. Quartus ver.	ī	AD Titum ver.	CXL
Judit ver.	īCCC	AD Colosenses ver.	CCLI
Hesdra	īD	AD Filimonem ver.	L
Ester ver.	ī	AD Petrum Prima	CC
Job ver.	īDC	AD Petrum II. ver.	CXL
Tobias ver.	ī	Iacobi ver.	CCXX
Evangelii III.		Pr. Iohanni Epist.	CCXX
Mattheum ver.	īīDC	Iohanni Epistula II.	XX
Iohannes ver.	īī	Iohanni Epistula III.	XX
Marcus ver.	īDC	Iudæ Epistula ver.	LX
Lucam ver.	īīDCCC	Barnabæ Epist. ver.	DCCCL
Epistulas Pauli		Iohannis Revelatio	īCC
AD Romanos ver	īXL	Actus Apostolorum	īīDC
AD Chorintios I. ver.	īLX	Pastoris versi	īīī
AD Chorintios II. ver.	LXX	Actus Pauli ver.	DLX
AD Galatas ver.	CCCL	Revelatio Petri	CCLXX

INDEX TO THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS, about 450 A.D.

Γένεσις κόσμον,	᾽Ωσηέ α'
᾽Εξοδος Αἰγύπτου,	᾽Ησαίας ιγ'.
Λευιτικόν,	᾽Ιερεμίας ιδ' (add. <i>Baruch, Lament.</i>
Ἀριθμοί,	<i>Epist.</i>)
Δευτερονόμιον,	᾽Ιεζεκιήλ ιε',
᾽Ιησοῦς Ναυῆ,	Δανιήλ ις' (cum additamentis),
Κριταί,	᾽Εσθήρ (cum additamentis),
Ῥούθ.	Τωβίτ,
ὁμοῦ βιβλία ἡ'.	᾽Ιουδείθ,
Βασιλειῶν α',	᾽Εσδρας α' ἱερεύς (I Esdras),
Βασιλειῶν β',	᾽Εσδρας β' ἱερεύς (Esdras Canonicus,
Βασιλειῶν γ',	Neemias),
Βασιλειῶν δ',	Μακκαβαίων λόγος α',
Παραλειπομένων α',	Μακκαβαίων λόγος β',
Παραλειπομένων β'.	Μακκαβαίων λόγος γ',
ὁμοῦ βιβλία 5'.	Μακκαβαίων λόγος δ',
Προφήται ις',	Ψαλτήριον μετ' ὠδῶν,

Ἰώβ,
 Παροιμίαι,
 Ἐκκλησιαστής,
 Ἄσματα ἁσμάτων,
 Σοφία ἡ Πανάρετος,
 Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ.

Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη.
 Εὐαγγέλια δ'.
 Κατὰ Ματθαῖον,
 Κατὰ Μάρκον,

Κατὰ Λουκᾶν,
 Κατὰ Ἰωάννην,
 Πράξεις ἀποστόλων,
 Καθολικαὶ ζ',
 ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου ιδ',
 ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου,
 Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ α',
 Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ β',
 ὁμοῦ βιβλία.....
 Ψαλμοὶ Σολομώντος ιη'.

No list is given either in the Codex Vaticanus or Sinaiticus, the books being merely distinguished by the title placed at the beginning and end in the Codex Sinaiticus; in the Vatican manuscript the title is put over each leaf, thus *κατὰ ματθαῖον* on the first page of the Gospel of St Matthew, afterwards *ματθαῖον*, and at the end *κατὰ ματθαῖον*.

Iambi ad Seleucum. Ap. Gregor. Nazianz. About 380 A.D.

Πλὴν ἄλλ' ἐκείνο προσμαθεῖν μάλιστα σοι
 Προσῆκον, οὐχ ἅπασα βίβλος ἀσφαλῆς
 Ἡ σεμνὸν ὄνομα τῆς γραφῆς κεκτημένη.
 Εἰσὶν γὰρ εἰσὶν ἔσθ' ὅτε ψευδώνυμοι
 Βίβλοι, τινὲς μὲν ἔμμεσοι καὶ γείτονες,
 Ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, τῶν ἀληθείας λόγων.
 Αἱ δ' αὖ νόθοι τε καὶ λῖαν ἐπισφαλεῖς
 Ὡς παράσημα καὶ νόθα νομίσματα,
 Ὡς βασιλέως μὲν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν φέρει,
 Κίβδηλα δ' ἐστὶ ταῖς ὕλαις δολούμενα.
 Τούτων χάριν σοι τὴν θεοπνεύστων ἑρῶ
 Βίβλων ἐκάστην, ὡς δ' εὐκρινῶς μάθης
 Τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς πρῶτα διαθήκης ἑρῶ.
 Ἡ πεντάτευχος.....
 Τούτοις Ἰησοῦν προστίθει καὶ τοὺς κριτάς,
 Ἐπειτα τὴν Ῥοῦθ, Βασιλεῶν τε τέσσαρας
 Βίβλους, Παραλειπομένων δέ γε ξυνωρίδα.
 Ἐσδρας ἐπ' αὐταῖς πρῶτος, εἴθ' ὁ δεύτερος.

Ἐξῆς στιχηρὰς πέντε σοι βίβλους ἐρῶ.....
 Ταύταις προφήτας προστίθει τοὺς δώδεκα.....
 Μεθ' οὓς προφήτας μάνθανε τοὺς τέσσαρας.....
 Τούτοις προσεγκρίνουσι τὴν Ἑσθήρ τινες.
 Καινῆς Διαθήκης ὥρα μοι βίβλους λέγειν
 Εὐαγγελιστὰς τέσσαρας δέχου μόνους,
 Ματθαῖον, εἶτα Μάρκον, ᾧ Λουκᾶν τρίτον
 Προσθεῖς ἀρίθμει, τὸν δ' Ἰωάννην χρόνῳ
 Τέταρτον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ὕψει δογμάτων·
 Βροντῆς γὰρ υἱὸν τοῦτον εἰκότως καλῶ
 Μέγιστον ἠχήσαντα τῷ Θεοῦ λόγῳ.
 Δέχου δὲ βίβλον Λουκᾶ καὶ τὴν δευτέραν,
 Τὴν τῶν καθολικῶν Πράξεων ἀποστόλων.
 Τὸ σκεῦος ἐξῆς προστίθει τῆς ἐκλογῆς,
 Τὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν κήρυκα, τόν τ' ἀπόστολον
 Παῦλον, σοφῶς γράψαντα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 Ἐπιστολὰς δις ἑπτὰ.....
 Τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον,
 Οὐκ εἶ λέγοντες· γνησίᾳ γὰρ ἡ χάρις.
 Εἶπεν· τί λοιπόν; καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν
 Τινὲς μὲν ἑπτὰ φασίν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας
 Χρῆναι δέχεσθαι, τὴν Ἰακώβου μίαν,
 Μίαν δὲ Πέτρου, τὴν τ' Ἰωάννου μίαν,
 Τινὲς δὲ τὰς τρεῖς, καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς τὰς δύο
 Πέτρου δέχονται, τὴν Ἰούδα δ' ἐβδόμην·
 Τὴν δ' Ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν
 Τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλείους δέ γε
 Νόθον λέγουσιν. Οὗτος ἄψευδέστατος
 Κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.....

THE SYNOPSIS OF ATHANASIUS, ABOUT 370 A.D.

τὰ δὲ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης πάλιν ὠρισμένα τε καὶ κεκανονισμένα βιβλία ταῦτα.

Κατὰ Ματθαῖον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Κατὰ Μάρκον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἀρχὴ τοῦ . . . Κατὰ Λουκᾶν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ . . . Κατὰ Ἰωάννην, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή . . . Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή . . . Καθολικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων ἀποστόλων, αἱ πᾶσαι ἑπτὰ εἰς ἓν ἀριθμοῦμεναι βιβλίον. Ἰακώβου μία, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή . . . Πέτρου δύο, καὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης ἡ ἀρχή . . .

Ἰωάννου τρεῖς, καὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης ἡ ἀρχή . . . Ἰούδα μία, ἥς ἡ ἀρχή . . . Παύλου ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολαὶ ἰδ' εἰς ἔν ἀριθμούμεναι βιβλίον. Καὶ πρώτη ἡ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ἥς ἡ ἀρχή . . . Πρὸς Κορινθίους δύο . . . Πρὸς Γαλάτας . . . Πέμπτη πρὸς Ἐφεσίους . . . Ἑκτὴ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους . . . Ἐβδόμη πρὸς Κολοσσσεῖς . . .

Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δύο . . . Δεκάτῃ ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους, ἥς ἀρχή . . . Πρὸς Τιμόθεον δύο . . . Τρισκαιδεκάτῃ ἡ πρὸς Τίτον . . . Τεσσαρεςκαιδεκάτῃ ἡ πρὸς Φιλήμονα, ἥς . . .

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου, δεχθεῖσα ὡς ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐγκριθεῖσα ὑπὸ πάσαι ἀγίων καὶ πνευματοφόρων πατέρων, ἥς ἡ ἀρχή . . .

Τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης βιβλία, τά γε κανονιζόμενα καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν οἶονεὶ ἀκροθίνια ἢ ἄγκυραι καὶ ἐρείσματα· ὡς παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν καὶ συγγενομένων ἐκείνῳ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μαθητευθέντων, γραφέντα καὶ ἐκτεθέντα. Ἐπείτοι γε ὕστερον κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀκολουθίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἄλλα μυρία καὶ ἀναρίθμητα βιβλία ἐξεπονήθησαν, ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς μεγάλων καὶ σοφωτάτων θεοφόρων πατέρων . . .

Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα βιβλία διάφορα, παρὰ τὰ προλεχθέντα, ἐκατέρας διαθήκης, τῆς παλαιᾶς δηλαδὴ καὶ νέας, τὰ μὲν ἀντιλεγόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπόκρυφα . . .

Τῆς νέας πάλιν διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα.

Περίοδοι Πέτρου.

Περίοδοι Ἰωάννου.

Περίοδοι Θωμᾶ.

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶ (*σίς*).

Διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων.

Κλημέντινα, ἐξ ᾧ μετεφράσθησαν ἐκλεγέντα τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα.

Ταῦτα τὰ ἀναγινωσκόμενα.

Ταῦτα πάντα ἐξετέθησαν μὲν, ὅσον πρὸς εἶδῃσιν· παραγεγραμμένα δὲ εἰσι πάντως καὶ νόθα καὶ ἀπόβλητα, καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων, τῶν Ἀποκρύφων μάλιστα, ἔγκριτον ἢ ἐπωφελές, ἐξαιρέτως τῆς νέας διαθήκης· ἀλλὰ πάντα δίχα τῶν ἀνωτέρω διαληφθέντων καὶ ἐγκριθέντων παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς σοφοῖς καὶ πατράσιν, ἀποκρυφῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγνώσεως ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξια.

THE LIST OF ANASTASIOS, ABOUT 580 A.D. COD. BAROCC. 206.

Περὶ τῶν ξ' βιβλίων καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἐκτός.

α'. Γένεσις.	λα'. Ἡσαίας.
β'. Ἐξοδος.	λβ'. Ἱερεμίας.
γ'. Λευιτικόν.	λγ'. Ἰεζεκιήλ.
δ'. Ἀριθμοί.	λδ'. Δανιήλ.
ε'. Δευτερονόμιον.	λε'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον.
ς'. Ἰησοῦς.	λς'. Κατὰ Μάρκον.
ζ'. Κριταὶ καὶ Ρούθ.	λζ'. Κατὰ Λουκᾶν.
η'. Βασιλειῶν α'.	λη'. Κατὰ Ἰωάννην.
θ'. Βασιλειῶν β'.	λθ'. Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων.
ι'. Βασιλειῶν γ'.	μ'. Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολή.
ια'. Βασιλειῶν δ'.	μα'. Πέτρον.
ιβ'. Παραλειπόμενα ε',	μβ'. Πέτρον.
ιγ'. Ἰώβ.	μγ'. Ἰωάννου.
ιδ'. Ψαλτήριον.	μδ'. Ἰωάννου.
ιε'. Παροιμίαι.	με'. Ἰωάννου.
ισ'. Ἐκκλησιαστής.	μς'. Ἰούδα.
ιζ'. ᾠσμα ᾠσμάτων ε',	μζ'. Παύλου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.
ιη'. Ἔσδρας.	μη'. Παύλου πρὸς Κορινθίους.
ιθ'. Ὠσηέ.	μθ'. Πρὸς Κορινθίους.
κ'. Ἀμῶς.	ν'. Πρὸς Γαλάτας.
κα'. Μιχαίας.	να'. Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους.
κβ'. Ἰωήλ.	νβ'. Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους.
κγ'. Ἰωνᾶς.	νγ'. Πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς.
κδ'. Ἀβδιουῦ.	νδ'. Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς.
κε'. Ναοῦμ.	νε'. Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς.
κς'. Ἀμβρακοῦμ.	νς'. Πρὸς Τιμόθεον.
κζ'. Σοφονίας.	νζ'. Πρὸς Τιμόθεον.
κη'. Ἀγγαίος.	νη'. Πρὸς Τίτον.
κθ'. Ζαχαρίας.	νθ'. Πρὸς Φιλήμονα.
λ'. Μαλαχίας.	ξ'. Πρὸς Ἑβραίους.

Καὶ ὅσα ἔξω τῶν ξ'.

α'. σοφία Σολομῶντος.	ς'. Μακκαβαίων.
β'. σοφία Σίραχ.	ζ'. Ἐσθήρ.
γ'. Μακκαβαίων.	η'. Ἰουδῆθ.
δ'. Μακκαβαίων.	θ'. Τωβίτ.
ε'. Μακκαβαίων.	

Καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα.

α'. Ἀδάμ.	ιβ'. Σοφονίου ἀποκάλυψις.
β'. Ἐνώχ.	ιγ'. Ζαχαρίου ἀποκάλυψις.
γ'. Λαμέχ.	ιδ'. Ἐσδρα ἀποκάλυψις.
δ'. Πατριαρχαί.	ιε'. Ἰακώβου ἱστορία.
ε'. Ἰωσήφ Προσευχή.	ισ'. Πέτρον ἀποκάλυψις.
ς'. Ἑλδὰμ καὶ Μοδάμ.	ιζ'. Περίοδοι καὶ διδασκαί τῶν ἀποστόλων.
ζ'. Διαθήκη Μωσέως.	ιη'. Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή.
[η'. Deest.]	ιθ'. Παύλου πρᾶξις (πράξεις).
θ'. Ψαλμοὶ Σολομώντος.	κ'. Παύλου ἀποκάλυψις.
ι'. Ἡλίου Ἀποκάλυψις.	κά. Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος.
ια'. Ἡσαίου ὄρασις.	
κβ'. Ἰγνατίου διδασκαλία.	
[κγ'. Deest. Πολυκάρπου διδασκαλία <i>Cod. Coislín.</i>]	
κδ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Βαρνάβα (-αν).	
κε'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθ. (<i>i.e.</i> Μαθθίαν).	

THE STICHOMETRIA OF NICEPHORUS, 801 A.D.

§ 1. Καὶ ὅσαι εἰσὶ θεῖαι γραφαὶ ἐκκλησιαζόμεναι καὶ κεκανονισμέναι, καὶ ἡ τούτων στιχομετρία, οὕτως.

α'. Γένεσις στίχοι ,δτ'. [<i>versus</i> 4300]
β'. Ἐξοδος στίχοι ,βώ.
γ'. Λευιτικὸν στίχοι ,βψ'.
δ'. Ἀριθμοὶ στίχοι ,γφλ'.
ε'. Δευτερονόμιον στίχοι ,γρ'.
ς'. Ἰησοῦς στίχοι ,βρ'.
ζ'. Κριταὶ καὶ Ῥούθ στίχοι ,βν'.
η'. Βασιλειῶν α' καὶ β' στίχοι ,δσμ'.
θ'. Βασιλειῶν γ' καὶ δ' στίχοι ,βσγ'. [<i>βσ'</i>]
ι'. Παραλειπόμενα α' καὶ β' στίχοι ,εφ'.
ια'. Ἐσδρας α' καὶ β' στίχοι ,εφ'.
ιβ'. Βίβλος ψαλμῶν στίχοι ,ερ'.
ιγ'. Παροιμίαι Σολομώντος στίχοι ,αψ'.
ιδ'. Ἐκκλησιαστής στίχοι ,ζφ'. (?) [<i>probably</i> ,φε']
ιε'. Ἄισμα ἁσμάτων στίχοι ,σπ'. [<i>vñ.</i> 280]
ισ'. Ἰὼβ στίχοι ,αώ.

- ιζ'. Ἡσαΐας προφήτης στίχοι γω'.
 ιη'. Ἱερεμίας προφήτης στίχοι δ'.
 ιθ'. Βαροὺχ στίχοι ψ'. [νν. 700]
 κ'. Ἰεζεκιήλ στίχοι δ'.
 κα'. Δανιήλ στίχοι β'.
 κβ'. Οἱ δώδεκα προφήται στίχοι γ'.
 Ὅμοῦ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία εἴκοσι δύο.

Τῆς νέας διαθήκης.

- α'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον στίχοι ββ'. [2500]
 β'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον στίχοι β'. [2000]
 γ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν στίχοι βχ'. [2600]
 δ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην στίχοι βτ'. [2300 *al.* 2003]
 ε'. Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων στίχοι βω'. [2800]
 ς'. Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ ιδ' στίχοι ετ'. [5300]
 ζ'. Καθολικαὶ ζ'. Ἰακώβου α', Πέτρου β', Ἰωάννου γ', Ἰούδα α'.
 Ὅμοῦ τῆς νέας διαθήκης βιβλία κς'.

§ 2. Καὶ ὅσαι ἀντιλέγονται τῆς παλαιᾶς, αὐταὶ εἰσιν.

- α'. Μακκαβαϊκὰ γ' στίχοι ζτ'.
 β'. Σοφία Σολομῶντος στίχοι αρ'.
 γ'. Σοφία υἱοῦ τοῦ Σιράχ στίχοι βω'.
 δ'. Ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ Σολομῶντος στίχοι βρ'.
 ε'. Ἐσθὴρ στίχοι τν'.
 ς'. Καὶ Ἰουδῆθ στίχοι αψ'.
 ζ'. Σωσάννα στίχοι φ'.
 η'. Τωβιτ' ὁ καὶ Τοβίας στίχοι ψ'.

Καὶ ὅσαι τῆς νέας ἀντιλέγονται,

- α'. Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου στίχοι αυ'. [1400]
 β'. Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου στίχοι τ'. [300]
 γ'. Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ στίχοι μτζ'. [1360]
 δ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἑβραίους στίχοι βς'. [2200]¹

§ 3. Καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα τῆς παλαιᾶς.

- α'. Ἐνὼχ στίχοι δω'.
 β'. Πατριόρχαι στίχοι ερ'.
 γ'. Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ στίχοι αρ'.
 δ'. Διαθήκη Μωυσέως στίχοι αρ'.

¹ Read βς' [2200].

- ε'. Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως στίχοι ,αυ'.
 ς'. Ἀβραάμ στίχοι τ'.
 ζ'. Ἐλὰδ καὶ Μωδὰδ στίχοι υ'.
 η'. Ἐλία προφήτου στίχοι τισ'.
 θ'. Σοφονίου προφήτου στίχοι χ'.
 ι'. Ζαχαρίου πατρὸς Ἰωάννου στίχοι φ'.
 κ'. Βαρὸνχ, Ἀββακούμ, Ἐζεκιὴλ καὶ Δανιήλ ψευδεπίγραφα.

Καὶ ὅσα τῆς νέας ἀπόκρυφα.

- α'. Περίοδος Πέτρου στίχοι ,βψν'. [2750]
 β'. Περίοδος Ἰωάννου στίχοι ,βχ'. [2600]
 γ'. Περίοδος Θωμᾶν [*sic*] στίχοι ,αψ'. [1700]
 δ'. Ἐθαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν στίχοι ,ατ'. [1300]
 ε'. Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων στίχοι σ'. [200]
 ς'. Κλήμεντος α'. β'. στίχοι ,βχ'. [2600]
 ζ'. Ἰγνατίου, Πολυκάρπου, Ποιμένους καὶ Ἑρμᾶ¹ [*sic*].

THE DECREE OF GELASIUS.

Gelasius 1 P. C. Romanum 1. Anastasius Imperator. Theodoricus Rex Ital.

Anno Christi 494. Concilium Romanum 1. quo a LXX. episcopis libri sacri et authentici ab apocryphis sunt disjuncti sub Gelasio anno Domini ccccxciv. Asterio atque Præsidio consulibus.

Ordo librorum veteris testamenti quem sancta et Catholica Romana suscipit et veneratur ecclesia. Digesti a beato Gelasio I. papa cum septuaginta episcopis.

Item ordo prophetarum.

Genesis liber unus	Regnorum libri quatuor
Exodi liber unus	Paralipomenon libri duo
Levitici liber unus	Psalmorum liber unus
Numeri liber unus	Solomonis libri tres
Deuteronomii liber unus	Proverbia
Iesi Nave liber unus	Ecclesiastes
Judicum liber unus	Cantica Canticorum
Ruth liber unus	Item Sapientiæ liber unus

¹ Read καὶ Ποιμένους Ἑρμᾶ.

Ecclesiastici liber unus	Ioel liber unus
Isaiæ liber unus	Abdiæ liber unus
Jeremiæ liber unus	Jonæ liber unus
Cenoth, id est de lamentationibus eius	Nahum liber unus
Ezechielis liber unus	Habacuc liber unus
Danielis liber unus	Sophonix liber unus
Oseæ liber unus	Aggæi liber unus
Amos liber unus	Zachariæ liber unus
Michææ liber unus	Malachiæ liber unus

Item ordo historiarum.

Tobiæ liber unus	Judith liber unus
Esdrae liber unus	Machabæorum liber unus
Esther liber unus	

Ordo Scripturarum Novi et Æterni Testamenti.

Evangeliorum libri quatuor	Ad Colossenses epistola una
Secundum Matthæum liber unus	Ad Timotheum epistolæ duæ
Secundum Marcum liber unus	Ad Titum epistola una
Secundum Lucam liber unus	Ad Philemonem epistola una
Secundum Joannem liber unus	Ad Hebræos epistola una
Actuum Apostolorum liber unus	Item Apocalypsi Ioanni liber unus
Epistolæ Pauli numero xiv.	Item Canonicæ epistolæ numero septem
Ad Romanos epistola una	Iacobi Apostoli epistola una
Ad Corinthios epistolæ duæ	Petri Apostoli epistolæ duæ
Ad Galatas epistola una	Ioanni Apostoli epistolæ tres
Ad Thessalonicenses epistolæ duæ	Iudæ Zelotis Apostoli epistola una
Ad Ephesios epistola una	
Ad Philippenses epistola una	

Notitia librorum Apocryphorum qui non recipiuntur.

In primis Arelatensem Synodum a Constantio Cæsare Constantini Augusti filio congregatam Mediasto Tauro præfecto et tum et plene ab usque in æternum confitemur esse damnatam.

Item itinerarium nomine Petri Apostoli quod appellatur sancti Clementis libri octo apocryphum.

- Actus nomine Andriæ apostoli apocryphi.
- Actus nomine Thomæ apostoli apocryphi.
- Actus nomine Petri apostoli apocryphi.
- Actus nomine Philippi apocryphi.
- Evangelium nomine Thaddæi apocryphum.
- Evangelium nomine Matthiæ apocryphum.
- Evangelium nomine Petri apostoli apocryphum.
- Evangelium nomine Iacobi minoris apocryphum.
- Evangelium nomine Barnabæ apocryphum.
- Evangelium nomine Thomæ, quo utuntur Manichæi, apocryphum.
- Evangelium nomine Bartholomæi apostoli apocryphum.
- Evangelium nomine Andreæ apostoli apocryphum.
- Evangelia que falsavit Lucianus apocrypha.
- *Liber de Infantia Salvatoris apocryphus.
- Evangelia que falsavit Esitius apocrypha.
- *Liber de Nativitate Salvatoris et de Maria et obstetrice apocryphus.
- *Liber qui appellatur Pastoris apocryphus.
- Libri omnes quos fecit Leucius discipulus diaboli apocryphi.
- Liber qui appellatur Fundamentum apocryphus.
- Liber qui appellatur Thesaurus apocryphus.
- Liber de filiabus Adæ geneseos apocryphus.
- Centimentum de Christo Virgilianis compaginatum versibus apocryphum.
- Liber qui appellatur Actus Teclæ et Pauli Apostoli apocryphus.
- Liber qui appellatur Nepotis apocryphus.
- Liber Proverbiorum qui ab hæreticis conscriptus et sancti Sixti nomine præsentatus est apocryphus.
- Revelatio que appellatur Pauli Apostoli apocrypha.
- Révelatio que appellatur Stephani apocrypha.
- Liber qui appellatur Translatio, id est Assumptio Sanctæ Mariæ, apocryphus.
- Liber qui appellatur Pœnitentia Adæ apocryphus.
- Liber Ogiæ hominis gigantis qui ab hæreditate cum dracone post deterrimam pugnam perturbatus apocryphus.
- Liber qui appellatur Testamentum Job apocryphus.
- Liber qui appellatur Pœnitentia Origenis apocryphus.
- Liber qui appellatur Pœnitentia Sancti Cypriani apocryphus.
- Liber qui appellatur Pœnitentia Iannis et Mambriæ apocryphus.

* These works are still extant.

Liber qui appellatur sortes Apostolorum apocryphus.

Liber qui appellatur Laus Apostolorum apocryphus.

Liber canonum Apostolorum apocryphus.

Liber Physiologus qui ab hæreticis conscriptus est et Ambrosii nomine signatus apocryphus.

Similar lists of the Canonical books are found in the Canons of the Council of Laodicæa, 363 A.D., and the third Council of Carthage, A.D. 377.

SPECIMENS OF SPURIOUS DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

THE various points have now been discussed that are necessary to prove that the New Testament is a genuine work of the first century and not a compilation of a later period. It has been shewn that all the indirect allusions that could be used to prove that the books were composed during the period of the Cæsars are entirely accurate, that the books are quoted at a sufficiently early period, the quotations commencing in the first century, that there are sufficient, though rather scanty notices of the Christian system in the classical writers of the time, and finally that there is subsidiary evidence in the shape of manuscripts of great antiquity, and independent lists of the books, and the oldest of these, though not of course dating from the first century, carry us back completely into the Classical period, and render the notion of deception or forgery extremely improbable. It only remains to compare the genuine and authentic books with others claiming to be of the first century but which cannot be accepted as authentic works. This can only be done briefly and little more than the method of investigation pointed out.

The most important of the non-authentic works are :

1. The Apocryphal Gospels,
2. The False Decretals.
3. The false epistles attributed either to Apostles or to Apostolic Fathers.

The following is a list of the extant Apocryphal Gospels :

The History of Joseph the carpenter. Extant only in Arabic.

The Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour. Extant only in Arabic.

The Protevangelium of James the less. Extant in Greek.

The Gospel of Thomas. Extant in Greek.

The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary. Extant only in Latin.

The History of the Nativity of Mary and the Infancy of the Saviour. Extant only in Latin.

The Gospel of Nicodemus. Extant in Greek.

The Acts of Pilate. Extant both in Greek and Latin.

This list contains only a small amount of the Apocrypha of the New Testament as it once existed, as will be seen by comparing it with the titles of the Apocryphal works given in the decree of Gelasius. Of the extant Apocryphal Gospels, none are quoted by any of the Patristic writers, but the Gospel of the Infancy and the book of the Nativity are condemned as Apocryphal in the decree of Gelasius, and the Gospel of Thomas in the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus. The origin and date of the others does not seem to be known, but they are most probably of later date than Nicephorus, and belong to the tenth or eleventh century. A portion of the Acts of Pilate has been selected as a specimen, as it is the only work of the Apocryphal series to which any allusion is found in the Patristic writers, and it is found in manuscripts of fair antiquity. No actual quotations from it however occur.

The whole collection which has come down to us under the title of the Apocryphal Gospels is undoubtedly curious, but has little value except as illustrating the difference between genuine and spurious documents.

With regard to the next division, The False Decretals, these are a series of letters of the Popes and the decrees of unauthentic Councils, which made their appearance at Metz about 830 A.D. and were composed apparently in that century, in the name of Isidore of Seville. Their genuineness has long been surrendered: that the earliest of them claim to date from the first century, affords a means of comparing them with the genuine books. The Epistle of Anacletus, compared with the first Epistle of Clement, shews extremely well the difference between a false and a genuine work of the first century.

Lastly there is a small collection of letters ascribed partly to the Virgin, and partly to the Apostles: these exist only in Latin and are monastic forgeries of the mediæval period. It is only necessary to examine the text of one or two of them to see that they have not the slightest claim to be considered authentic.

I. THE REPORT OF PILATE TO THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS.

The first allusion to a report by Pilate of the events of the Crucifixion is found in Justin Martyr.

Apol. i. 35, καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων.

Apol. i. 43, ὅτι τε ταῦτα ἐποιήσεν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων μαθεῖν δύνασθε.

The next passage to be cited on the subject is Tertullian, *Apologeticus* v.

Ut de origine aliquid retractemus ejusmodi legum vetus erat decretum ne qui deus ab imperatore consecraretur nisi a senatu probatus. Tiberius ergo cujus tempore nomen Christianum in sæculum introivit, annunciatum sibi ex Syriâ Palæstinâ quod illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum prærogativâ suffragii sui. Senatus quia non ipse probaverat, respuit; Cæsar in sententiâ mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum¹.

The statement is repeated in Eusebius, *H. E.* II. 2, who however merely cites Tertullian as his authority, and translates the passage from the Apologeticus into Greek.

ταῦτα Τερτυλλιανὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἡκριβωκῶς ἀνὴρ, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔνδοξος, καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ῥώμης λαμπρῶν, ἐν τῇ γραφείῳ μὲν αὐτῷ τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ, μεταβληθείσῃ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν, ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν Ἀπολογία, τίθησι κατὰ λέξιν τοῦτον ἱστορῶν τὸν τρόπον².

Lastly, Chrysostom seems to have alluded to a report by Pilate, in one of his homilies: τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου πραχθέντα. Chrysostom, Homil. viii. in Pascha.

Cf. Ælius Lampridius, *Vita Alexandri Severi*. Christo templum facere voluit eumque inter Deos recipere, quod et Adrianus cogitasse fertur.

If we ask what is the real authority for this story of a report by Pilate to Tiberius, it apparently rests on the two passages in Justin, and there is some reason to suspect that the ordinary reading is incorrect.

In the second passage, *Apol.* i. 48, some of the manuscripts read αὐτῷ for ἄκτων, and the passage stands thus: ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα ἐποιήσεν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων αὐτῷ μαθεῖν δύνασθε. There is little doubt that αὐτῷ and not ἄκτων is the proper reading in both passages, for it is obvious that the sentence is not correctly constructed. The passage to give a proper sense would have to stand, ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γραφέντων ἄκτων, or ἐκ τῶν Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἄκτων, or finally, which is most likely the correct reading, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων αὐτῷ. Thus the whole story of a report by Pilate, or of a work called

¹ With regard to the above passage, the decree mentioned by Tertullian no doubt existed. Cf. Cicero, *de Legib.* II. 19, Separatim nemo habessit deos novos sed ne advenas quidem nisi publice adscitos privatim colunto. But the rest of the passage cannot be accepted as consistent with what is known of the history of the time. Cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 36, Externas caerimonias, Ægyptios Judaicosque ritus, compescuit: Judæorum juventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris cæli distribuit, reliquos gentis ejusdem vel similia sectantes urbe summovit.

² Eusebius adds however to the statement found in Tertullian that the report was made by Pilate, Πιλάτος Τιβερίῳ βασιλεῖ κοινοῦται. For this there does not seem any ancient authority.

the *Acta Pilati*, seems to rest on a mistake in the manuscripts of Justin, and the extant *Acta Pilati* cannot be accepted as dating from the first century, for neither Tertullian, Irenæus, nor Clement of Alexandria mention any writings by Pilate, and the *Acta Pilati* can thus hardly be older than the third century¹.

It is easy to see how the passage in Justin led to the composition of works professing to be written by Pilate, which in an uncritical age were accepted as genuine, and any doubt as to the real origin of the supposed works of Pilate is set at rest by the witness of Eusebius, who was acquainted with the *Acta Pilati*, and pronounced them to be forged.

Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* ix. 5.

Πλασόμενοι δὴτα Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ἔμπλεα κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας, γνώμη τοῦ μείζονος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διαπέμπονται τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχήν.

Cf. Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* i. 9.

Οὐκοῦν σαφῶς ἀπελήλεγται τὸ πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθές τε καὶ πρώην διαδεδωκότων.

If we turn now to the actual remains bearing the name of Pilate we find the following facts. There is a lengthy work belonging to the series of the Apocryphal Gospels, professing to be written by Nicodemus, and narrating in twenty-eight chapters the events of the Crucifixion and entombment. The work professes to be a translation into Greek of the original work of Nicodemus which was in Hebrew, and is evidently spurious, as it is never quoted by any ancient writer, and apparently was not known to Gelasius, being omitted from his list. The oldest existing manuscript of it dates from the commencement of the fourteenth century, and as it is not quoted by any writer of the first ten centuries it is impossible to assign to it any earlier date than about 1100 A.D., to which period it most likely belongs. At the end of the manuscripts of the Gospel of Nicodemus, which concludes with a description of Paradise, several documents are inserted professing to be written by Pilate. They exist both in Greek and Latin and have these titles: Ἐπιστολὴ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, Ἀναφορὰ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, Παράδοσις Πιλάτου. And in the Latin: Pontius Pilatus regi Claudio suo salutem, Pontius Pilatus Judææ Procurator Tiberio Cæsari Imperatori.

¹ It is perhaps best to consider the story as falling into two divisions. First, the statement that Tiberius consulted the Senate as to the promulgation of Christianity in Palestine, for which we have the comparatively early authority of Tertullian; and second, the existence of genuine works by Pilate or even of a written report of the events attending the Crucifixion. There is every reason to believe that the *Acta Pilati* are spurious. The portion which exhibits the best text has been given as a specimen.

The Latin version is thus introduced, *Et post hæc Pilatus scripsit epistolas ad urbem Romam Claudio dicens*¹.

Though these letters of Pilate are not found in any manuscript older than the Colbertinus, which dates from the fourteenth century, it is not impossible that they are a portion of the forged writings of Pilate condemned by Eusebius, and consequently belong to the earlier series; they may however be of later date. The letter which supplies the best text is the *Ἀναφορά Πιλάτου*, which has been printed as it stands in the Codex Colbertinus.

ΑΝΑΦΟΡΑ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΥ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΥ
ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΠΕΜΦΘΕΙΣΑ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΩ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΡΩΜΗ.

Ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις σταυρωθέντος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγεμόνος τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ταῦτα ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γέγονεν τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος μετ' οἰκείας αὐτοῦ ἀναφορᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτὰ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γράψας οὕτως.

Κρατίστῳ σεβαστῷ φοβερῷ θειοτάτῳ Αὐγούστῳ Πιλάτος Πόντιος ὁ τὴν ἀνατολικὴν διέπων ἀρχὴν.

Μηνῦσαι κέχρημαι πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν διὰ τῆσδέ μου τῆς γραφῆς τρόμῳ πολλῷ καὶ φόβῳ συνεχόμενος, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, τὴν τῶν ἐνισταμένων καιρῶν ῥοπὴν, καθὼς τὸ τούτων τέλος ὑπέδειξε. Ταύτην γὰρ διέποντός μου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ὧ δέσποτα, κατὰ πρόσταξιν τῆς σῆς γαληνότητος, ἣτις ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν πόλεων μία καλουμένη Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐν ἣ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καθίδρυται, συναχθὲν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραδεδώκασί μοι ἄνθρωπόν τινα λεγόμενον Ἰησοῦν, πολλὰ καὶ ἄπειρα ἐγκλήματα φέροντες κατ' αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν δὲ ἐν τινι λόγῳ ἐλέγξει αὐτόν. μία δὲ αἵρεσις ἦν αὐτοῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τὸ σάββατον ἔλεγεν μὴ εἶναι ὀρθὴν τούτων σχολήν. πολλὰς δὲ ἰάσεις ἐπετέλει ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος· τυφλοὺς ἐποίησεν βλέπειν, λεπροὺς ἐκαθάρισεν, νεκροὺς ἤγειρε, παραλυτικούς ἰάσατο, μὴ δυναμένους τὸ σύνολον κινεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἔχοντας φωνὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀστέων ἁρμονίαν, καὶ παρέσχεον αὐτοῖς δύναμιν τοῦ περιπατεῖν τε καὶ τρέχειν, ῥήματι μόνῳ ἐπιτρέψας. ἄλλο τε δυνατότερον πρᾶγμα ἐποίησεν, ὅπερ ἦν ξενὸν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμῶν· νεκρόν τινα Λάζαρον τετραήμερον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστησεν, λόγῳ μόνῳ κελεύσας ἐγερθῆναι τὸν τεθνεῶτα, διεφθαρμένον ἤδη ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλκογενήτων σκωλήκων· καὶ τὸ δυσῶδες ἐκείνο σῶμα

¹ Codex Einsid.

τὸ κείμενον ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ἐκέλευσεν τρέχειν, καὶ ὡς ἐκ παστοῦ νυμφίος οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἐξῆλθεν εὐωδίας πλείστης πεπληρωμένος. Καί τινες ἀφειδῶς δαιμονιζομένους καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντας ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ σαρκοφαγοῦντας τῶν ἰδίων μελῶν καὶ τοῖς ἑρπετοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀγρίοις θηρίοις συναναστρεφόμενους οἰκήτορας κατέστησεν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις οἴκοις, καὶ διὰ λόγου σώφρονας αὐτοὺς ἀπέδειξε, καὶ συνετοὺς καὶ ἐνδόξους γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν τοὺς ὑπὸ ἀκαθάρτων πνευμάτων ἐνοχλουμένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς δαίμονας ἐν ἀγέλῃ χοίρων ἐκπέμψας εἰς θάλασσαν ἀπέπνιξεν. Ἄλλον πάλιν τινὰ ξηρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐν λύπαις ζῶντα καὶ μηδὲ ἥμισυ σώματος ἔχοντα ὑγιᾶς λόγῳ μόνῳ παρέστησεν ὑγιῇ. Καὶ γυναῖκα αἰμορροοῦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνοις πολλοῖς, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ῥύσεως τοῦ αἵματος πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ὀστέων ἁρμονίαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ ὑέλου δίκην διαναγάζειν, καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἰατροὶ ἀνεπίστως αὐτὴν ἀπειπάμενοι οὐκ ἐκαθαίρουν· οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δῆπου τις σωτηρίας ἐλπίς· ποτέ γ' οἷν παρερχομένου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἤψατο ὅπισθεν τοῦ κρασπέδου τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀνεπληρώθη ἡ δύναμις τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς, καὶ γέγονεν ὑγιᾶς ὡς μηδὲν κακὸν ἔχουσα, καὶ ἤρξατο δρομαίως τρέχειν εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς πόλιν Πανεάδα.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως εἶχον· κατεμήνουν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκτελεῖν ταῦτα ἐν σαββάτῳ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς σεβόμεθα μείζονα κατενόησα θαυμάσια παρ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότα.

Τοῦτον οὖν Ἡρώδης καὶ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας παραδεδώκασί μοι σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ πρὸς τὸ ἐτάσαι αὐτόν. καὶ πολλῶν στάσιν κινήσαντων κατ' ἐμοῦ, ἐκέλευσα σταυρωθῆναι.

Ἦνίκα δὲ ἐσταυρώθη, σκότος ἐγένετο ἕξ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοῦ ἡλίου κρυβέντος τελείως καὶ τοῦ πόλου σκοτεινοῦ φαινομένου ἡμέρας οὔσης, ὥστε ἄστρα φανῆναι ἄλλ' ὅμως τὴν τηλαυγότητα ἐσκοτισμένην ἔχειν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ ὑμετέρα οἶμαι εὐσέβεια ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἤψαν λύχνους ἀπὸ ἑκτῆς ὥρας ἕως ὀψίας. σελήνη δὲ ὡς αἶμα οὖσα ὅλην τὴν νύκτα οὐ διέλαμπε, καίτοι γε παμπληθοῦς αὐτῆς τυγχανούσης. τὰ ἄστρα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ὠρίων θρῆνον ἐποιοῦν περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν γενομένην παρανομίαν.

Μιᾷ δὲ τῶν σαββάτων περὶ τρίτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ ἥλιος ὥφθη οἷος οὐδέποτε ἔλαμψεν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐφαιδρύνθη. καὶ ὡς ἀστραπαὶ χειμῶνος ἐπέρχονται, οὕτως ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ τινες κοσμήσεως στολῆς καὶ δόξης ἀνεκδιγγῆτου ὑπάρχοντες ἐφαίνοντο ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, καὶ πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ἀγγέλων κραζόντων καὶ λεγόντων Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· ἀνέλθατε ἐξ ᾄδου, οἱ δεδουλωμένοι ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις τοῦ ᾄδου. ἐκ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ ὄρη καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ἐσαλεύοντο καὶ πέτραι διερρηγνυντο καὶ χάσματα ἐγένοντο μεγάλα ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀβύσσου φανῆναι.

Ὡφθησαν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φόβῳ νεκροὶ ἀναστάντες, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἑωρακότες οἱ

Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον ὅτι εἶδομεν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα πατριάρχας τοὺς προτετελευτηκότας πρὸ δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων ἔτων, καὶ Νῶε εἶδομεν ἐν σώματι φανερώς. καὶ περιεπάτει πᾶν πλῆθος καὶ ἀνύμνει τὸν θεὸν μετὰ φωνῆς μεγάλης λέγων Ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντας τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐζωοποίησεν, καὶ τὸν ᾄδην συλήσας ἐνέκρωσε.

Πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην, ᾧ δέσποτα βασιλεῦ, τὸ φῶς οὐκ ἐπαύετο. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον καὶ κατεποντίσθησαν καὶ κατεπόθησαν τοῖς χάσμασιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ, ὥστε μὴδὲ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν φανῆναι. ἐκείνους δὲ λέγω παθεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λέγοντας. μία δὲ συναγωγὴ κατελείφθη ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἐπεὶ πᾶσαι αἱ συναγωγαὶ ἐκεῖναι αἱ γενόμεναι κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατεποντίσθησαν.

Τῷ οὖν φόβῳ ἐν ἐκστάσει γινόμενος καὶ πολλῷ τρόμῳ συσχεθεὶς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν ἐπιτάξας γράψαι τὰ πραχθέντα παρ' αὐτῶν πάντων ἀνήγαγον τῷ σῷ κράτει.

2. FROM THE FALSE DECRETALS.

INCIPIT EPISTOLA ANACLETI PAPAE

de oppressione et laceratione Christianorum et quod ecclesia navi comparetur atque de ceteris ibi insertis negotiis omnibus episcopis scripta.

ANACLETUS servus Christi Iesu in sede apostolica domino serviens, episcopis omnibus et ceteris cunctis fidelibus qui coequalem nobiscum sortiti sunt fidem, gratia vobis et pax atque consolatio multiplicetur a domino in saecula.

Benedictus deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui secundum magnam misericordiam suam regeneravit nos in spem vivam, per resurrectionem Iesu Christi ex mortuis in hereditatem incorruptibilem et incontaminatam et immarcessibilem, conservatam in celis, in vobis qui in virtute dei custodimini per fidem in salutem paratam revelari in tempore novissimo, in quo exultabitis, modicum nunc si oportet contristari in variis temptationibus, ut probatio vestrae fidei multo pretiosior sit auro, quando per ignem probatur, si tamen in tribulationibus experti probati inveniamini. Pacientes estote, dilectissimi, quia patientia probationem operatur, probatio vero spem, spes autem non confundit. Ecce agricola exspectat pretiosum fructum terrae, patienter ferens, donec accipiat temporaneum et serotinum. Si agricole hec patienter ferunt pro temporalibus fructibus, quanto magis vos pro aeternis patientes esse debetis? Estote ergo patientes et confirmate corda vestra, ut adveniente iudice Christo leti et probati esse valeatis. Nolite ingemiscere in alterutrum, ut non iudice-

mini. Ecce iudex ante ianuam assistit. Exemplum capite, karissimi, laboris et patientie prophetae, qui locuti sunt in nomine domini. Et beatificamus eos qui sustinuerunt. Sufferentiam Iob audistis et fidem domini vidistis, quoniam misericors et miserator est dominus. Tribulationes vestras audivimus, fratres, tam per vestros quam et per aliorum apocrisiarios, super quibus valde dolemus, vobisque compatimur et auxilium ferre, prout ipse largitus fuerit qui pro nobis non solum tribulatus, sed etiam passus est, parati sumus. Nolite mirari, karissimi, qui persecutiones patimini, quasi novi vobis aliquid contingat; sed communicantes Christi passionibus gaudete, ut et in revelatione glorie eius gaudeatis exultantes. Si exprobramini in nomine Christi, beati eritis, quoniam quod est honoris, glorie et virtutis dei et qui est eius spiritus, super vos requiescet. Nemo autem vestrum paciatur quasi homicida aut fur aut maleficus aut alienorum appetitor: si autem ut christianus, non erubescat, glorificet autem deum in isto nomine, quoniam tempus est ut incipiat iudicium de domo dei. Si autem primum a nobis, quis finis eorum qui non credunt dei evangelio? Et si iustus vix salvabitur, impius et peccator ubi parebunt? Itaque et hi qui patiuntur, fidei creatori commendant animas suas in benefactis. Nam, ait beatus Clemens praedictus antecessor noster, similis est omnis ecclesiae status navi magne, que per undosum pelagus diversis e locis et regionibus viros portat, ad unam potentis regni urbem properare cupientes. Sit ergo navis auctor huius dominus ipse omnipotens deus, gubernator vero sit Christus, tum deinde praeetae officium episcopus impleat, presbyter nautarum, diaconi dispensatorum locum teneant, hi qui catezizant nautologis conferuntur. Epibatis autem totius fraternitatis multitudo sit similis. Ipsum quoque mare hic mundus habeatur. Ventorum vero varietates et turbinum diversis temptationibus conferantur; persecutiones, tribulationes sive pericula fluctibus exequentur. Terreni vero spiritus qui de torrentibus vel convallibus spirant, pseudoprophetarum et seductorum seu prave doctrine verba docentur; promuntoria vero et loca confragosa hi qui in potestatibus saeculi sunt iudices et pericula minantur ac mortes; bethalassa vero loca que duplicibus unde fallacis estibus verberantur dubiis mente et repromissionum veritate nutantibus conferantur atque his qui irrationabili fidem nostram ratione discutunt. Yprocritae vero et dolosi piratis similes habeantur. Iam vero rapidus vertex et tartarea caripdis et saxis inlisa naufragia ac mortifere submersiones, quid aliud aestimanda sunt quam peccata? Restat igitur ut hec navis cursu prospero tuta

possit portum desiderate urbis intrare et ita deo precem fundere, ut navigantes mereantur audiri. Audimus, fratres, quod quidam detractant et accusant sacerdotes dei cupientes eos dampnari, non intellegentes forsitan quod iniuria sacerdotum ad Christum pertinet, cuius vice funguntur. Nec hoc aspiunt quod beatus princeps apostolorum instructor noster ait: Deponentes igitur omnem malitiam et omnem dolum et simulationes et invidias et omnes detractiones, sicut modo geniti infantes, rationabiles, sine dolo lac concupiscite, ut in eo crescatis in salutem; et dominus per prophetam inquit: Qui vult vitam diligere et videre dies bonos, coerceat linguam suam a malo, et labia eius ne loquantur dolum, et cetera. Qui autem ista transgrediuntur, profecto transgressores legis dei et contemptores atque inobedientes eius praeceptis existunt. Unde et beatus Iacobus apostolus ait: Si diligitis proximos sicut vosmetipsos, bene facitis, si autem personas accipitis, peccatum operamini, redarguti a lege quasi transgressores, et cetera. Et beati apostoli ac praedecessor noster Clemens, vir apostolicus et spiritu domini plenus, una cum reliquis sanctis collegis suis statuit, dicens: Accusandi vel testificandi licentia denegetur omnibus qui christiane religionis et nominis dignitatem et sue legis vel sui propositi normam aut regularum prohibita neglexerunt. Transgressores enim sponte legis sue, eiusque violatores apostatae nominantur. Omnis enim apostata refutandus est ante reversionem suam, nec in accusatione rectae agentium aut testimonio suscipiendus, quia vir duplex animo inconstans est in omnibus viis suis.

The Episcopate of Anacletus falls between 78 and 91 A.D., and the letter evidently was not written at that time, as Latin had not begun to be employed in ecclesiastical writings. No quotations from the Epistle are found.

3. THE PSEUDO-EPISTLES.

The Pseudo-Epistles are only found in Latin and are evidently spurious. They should be compared with the genuine Epistles of Ignatius, which belong to the next century.

LATIN CORRESPONDENCE OF S. IGNATIUS WITH S. JOHN AND THE VIRGIN.

I.

Johanni sancto seniori Ignatius et qui cum eo sunt fratres.

De tua mora dolemus graviter, allocutionibus et consolationibus tuis roborandi. Si tua absentia protendatur, multos de nostris de-

stituet. Properes igitur venire, quia credimus expedire. Sunt et hic multae de nostris mulieribus Mariam Jesu videre cupientes et discurrere a nobis quotidie volentes, ut eam contingant et ubera ejus tractent, quae Dominum Jesum aluerunt, et quaedam secretiora ejus percunctentur ipsam. Sed et Salome quam diligis, filia Annae, Hierosolimis quinque mensibus apud eam commorans, et quidam alii noti referunt eam omnium gratiarum abundam et omnium virtutum foecundam. Et, ut dicunt, in persecutionibus et afflictionibus est hilaris; in penuriis et indigentis non querula; injuriantibus grata; et molestata laetatur; miseris et afflictis coafflicta condolet, et subvenire non pigrescit. Contra vitiorum pestiferos insultus in pugna fidei disceptans enitescit. Nostrae novae religionis est magistra; et apud fideles omnium operum pietatis ministra. Humilibus quidem est devota, et devotis devotius humiliatur. Et mirum ab omnibus magnificatur; cum a scribis et Phariseis ei detrahatur. Praeterea et multi multa nobis referunt de eadem: tamen omnibus per omnia non audemus fidem concedere, nec tibi referre. Sed, sicut nobis a fide dignis narratur, in Maria Jesu humanae naturae natura sanctitatis angelicae sociatur. Et haec talia excitaverunt viscera nostra, et cogunt valde desiderare aspectum hujus (si fas sit fari) prodigii et sanctissimi monstri. Tu autem diligenti modo disponas cum desiderio nostro, et valeas. Amen.

2.

Johanni sancto seniori suus Ignatius.

Si licitum est mihi apud te, ad Hierosolimae partes volo ascendere, et videre fideles sanctos qui ibi sunt; praecipue Mariam Jesu, quam dicunt universis admirandam et cunctis desiderabilem. Quem vero non delectet videre eam et alloqui, quae verum Deum deorum peperit, si sit nostrae fidei et religionis amicus? Similiter et illum venerabilem Jacobum qui cognominatur Justus; quem referunt Christo Jesu simillimum vita et modo conversationis, ac si ejusdem uteri frater esset gemelius; quem, dicunt, si videro, video ipsum Jesum secundum omnia corporis ejus lineamenta: praeterea ceteros sanctos et sanctas. Heu, quid moror? Cur detineor? Bone praeceptor, properare me jubeas, et valeas. Amen.

3.

Christiferae Mariae suus Ignatius.

Me neophitum Johannisque tui discipulum confortare et consolari debueras. De Jesu enim tuo percepi mira dictu, et stupefactus sum ex auditu. A te autem, quae semper ei familiarius fuisti conjuncta et secretorum ejus conscia, desidero ex animo fieri certior de auditis. Scripsi tibi et etiam alias, et rogavi de eisdem. Valeas; et tui neophiti, qui mecum sunt, ex te et per te et in te confortentur. Amen.

4.

Ignatio dilecto condiscipulo humilis ancilla domini.

De Jesu quae a Johanne audisti et didicisti vera sunt. Illa credas, illis inhaereas, et Christianitatis susceptae votum firmiter teneas, et mores et vitam voto conformes. Veniam autem una cum Johanne te et qui tecum sunt visere. Sta et viriliter age in fide; nec te commoveat persecutionis austeritas, sed valeat et exultet spiritus tuus in Deo salutari tuo. Amen.

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